

# US claims breakthrough in missile pact

President Ford flew home yesterday from his meeting with Mr Brezhnev in Vladivostok, having reached agreement on the main terms of a new pact to control the strategic race. The pact is expected to be signed when Mr Brezhnev visits the

visits Washington next summer. It could save the United States and the Soviet Union vast amounts of money by averting a scramble for ever more complex weapons. Dr Kissinger described the development as a breakthrough.

## 10-year limit on arms

John Herbers  
Vladivostok, Nov 24  
President Ford and Mr Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, have signed a tentative agreement to limit the numbers of all strategic nuclear weapons and delivery vehicles until

1980 or 1981, on further limitations and possible reductions after 1985.

Today's development, which was reached at a health spa on the outskirts of Vladivostok, was the most important since President Nixon and Mr Brezhnev reached an interim agreement on controlling offensive arms on May 26, 1972. That agreement, which does not cover all weapons, expires in 1977.

Mr Ford and Mr Brezhnev, the statement said, "are convinced that a long-term agreement on this question would be a significant contribution to improving relations between the United States and the USSR, to reducing the danger of war and enhancing world peace".

According to the statement, agreement was reached that further negotiations for a 10-year treaty in 1975 will be based on the following provisions:

The new agreement will incorporate the relevant provisions of the interim agreement of May 26, 1972, which will remain in force until October, 1977.

The new agreement will cover the period from October, 1977, through December 31, 1985.

Based on the principle of equality and equal security, the new agreement will include the following limitations:

A. Both sides will be entitled to have a certain agreed aggregate number of strategic delivery vehicles (including bombers);

B. Both sides will be entitled to have a certain agreed aggregate number of intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles equipped with multiple independently targetable warheads (MIRVs);

There apparently was no assurance that the degree of destructive force for the two sides would be equal, but each side now has the capability of destroying the other several times over, and the race for

additional weapons has become more political and psychological than a race for superiority, in the view of many officials concerned.

Dr Kissinger said at a press conference that the plan would "mean that a cap has been put on the arms race for a period of 10 years".

He continued: "That cap is substantially below the capabilities of the other side. The element of inequality, inherent in an arms race in which both sides are attempting to anticipate not only the actual programme but the capabilities of the other side, will be substantially reduced."

Officials accompanying Mr Ford were elated about the agreement. "The President will return home in triumph", Mr Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, said.

Arms control dominated the talks. Dr Kissinger said the Middle East, European security and other issues were discussed but not at length. The Middle East took about one hour.

New York Times News Service. Fred Emery writes from Washington: Most of official Washington was unprepared for the arms agreement.

Experts expressed concern over Dr Kissinger's claim of a "breakthrough", and their immediate forecast was for intense scrutiny in Congress of this delicate issue.

The same experts point out that a 10-year agreement (or an eight-year extension of the 1972 interim agreement) is not the same as the permanent agreement sought as recently as last May.

It appears, however, that the Russians, for whatever reason, have granted Mr Ford the overall temporary limitation on the doomsday weapons of both sides which they were not prepared to give to Mr Nixon last July.

Photograph, Mr Ford in Asia, and text of Vladivostok statement, page 6

Leading article, page 15

Emergency powers, page 2

## Mrs Thatcher urged to challenge Mr Heath

Thatcher, Opposition spokesman on economic and fiscal affairs, is being urged by a number of Conservative leaders to challenge Mr Heath for the party's leadership next year, after he has put for

ward proposals for a revised leadership election procedure. Mrs Thatcher is recognized as a rising Conservative star and has reinforced her reputation in the new Parliament, our Political Editor writes.

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## st Democrat 1976 fight

Norris Udall, a Democrat representative from Arizona, announced that he will seek his party's nomination for the presidential election in 1976. He is the first Democrat to do so in the campaign on the issues of economy, the environment and energy.

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## obby on HS146

Mr Siddleley workers at the West Norfolk constituency Labour Party's special committee in support of HS146 airliner. The group will also seek intervention through the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions later this year.

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## lian Cabinet

Important ministerial posts in the new Italian Government formed by Signor Aldo Moro have brought harsh press comment over the methods used to boost its members, despite the Prime Minister's success in putting an administration together at all.

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## ess freedom

There are to be resumed today the National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Journalists on the provincial journalists' pay claim after a long strike ended. The managing editor of Times News spoke in Milan on Saturday of threats to press freedom from the journalists' union in the state.

Page 2

## Six charged over Birmingham bomb

From Arthur Osman  
Birmingham

Six Ulstermen were charged at West Midlands police headquarters last night with the murder of one of the Birmingham bomb victims. They will appear in court at Birmingham this morning.

The men are Hugh Callaghan, aged 44, unemployed, who has been in England since 1947; Patrick Joseph Hill, aged 30, unemployed, who came to England in 1960; Robert Gerard Hunter, aged 29, unemployed, who arrived in England in 1962; Noel Richard McIlkenny, aged 31, a midwife's mate, who came to England in 1956; William Power, aged 29, unemployed, who came to England in 1963; and John Walker, aged 29, a crane driver, who came to England in 1953.

Mr Walker is a native of Londonerry. The other five men are natives of Belfast.

Mr Maurice Buck, assistant Chief Constable (Crime) of the West Midlands Police, who has been leading the investigation into the bombings, said the six had been charged with being concerned with each other in the murder of Miss Jane Davis, aged 17, last Thursday night.

Miss Davis, he said, was one of the victims at the Tavern in the Town public house.

Mr Buck said that all but

Mr Callaghan had been detained at the Belfast ferry at Heysham late on Thursday night and brought back to Birmingham on Friday. All had been living in Birmingham but had declined to give their addresses "for security reasons". Mr Callaghan was detained in Birmingham.

Mr Buck said he wanted to thank all those people from all walks of life who had assisted the police in their inquiries.

He also wished to thank the newspapers, television and radio for what he called their "patience and restraint".

Avoid violent men": The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Birmingham, the Most Rev George Dwyer, directed his congregation at St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, last night to have no truck with men of violence, "to show they have not succeeded in dividing our community".

The archbishop referred to "the great wave of anger and fear sweeping the country". He said he had replied to the Pope's message of sympathy with a pledge to work for reconciliation and justice.

The archbishop appealed for those in factories and workshops to hold their peace. There would be argument and rage would run high. "We must be very patient in the circumstances and we must beware of being led into blind prejudice to find a scapegoat".

Russians, for whatever reason, have granted Mr Ford the overall temporary limitation on the doomsday weapons of both sides which they were not prepared to give to Mr Nixon last July.

Photograph, Mr Ford in Asia, and text of Vladivostok statement, page 6

Leading article, page 15

Emergency powers, page 2

## Channel tunnel plan may be abandoned

By Michael Baily  
Transport Correspondent

There are growing indications that the Channel Tunnel project in its present form is in the final stages of collapse.

The Government's official position is still to keep its options open until the Cairncross committee completes its assessment in the spring. But as rapidly mounting disaffection in Parliament must now be added doubts among the promoters, some of whom are questioning whether the project can any longer be financed by the private sector, even with government guarantees.

Those emerging political and financial obstacles suggest that whatever the Cairncross committee may say, the project is likely to be abandoned shortly, possibly to re-emerge in two or three years, if conditions then appear to justify it, in a modified form with state finance.

Mr Aikou Habte-Wold, the Cairncross committee's chairman, said: "It is no longer an attractive project to put money into it. It was originally thought that the return on the equity capital would be so high as to make the whole operation worthwhile. Now it appears that the government guarantees will be invoked and there will be no return on the equity. I do not think the money can be raised."

One of the British bankers said: "It is no longer possible to raise the money to finance this country". It might be difficult to raise them at the times stipulated, though there was provision for extensions in the agreement. "Much depends on the course of world events over the next three or four years. Our Arab friends may be interested in medium-term bonds, provided there are firm government guarantees", he added.

Technically the project is then deemed abandoned. In practice a delay will no doubt be negotiated which could be seen as the opening stages of a poker game between the British and French governments and the companies between now and next summer over the terms of abandonment.

Since the surprisingly close vote on the Bill in the Commons a fortnight ago (165 to 113, despite government appeals for loyalty and protestations that it is a technical measure making no commitment to the project) a motion by Mr Leslie Hockfield (Nuneaton, Lab) opposing the tunnel has attracted support from about 100 members, including some who voted for the Government a fortnight ago.

Clearly some MPs who hitherto accepted the tunnel now oppose it on the grounds of cost (probably £150m for the tunnel and £500m for the rail link) and environment.

The proposed London terminal is opposed by the Greater London Council and the boroughs concerned and the Kent route by Kent County Council and local authorities.

Doubts among the promoters spring from the difficult state

Continued on page 2, col 2



Human barter: left, a group of hostages is released from the hijacked VC 10; right, two handcuffed Palestinians are escorted from the Dutch aircraft which took them to Tunis from prison in Holland to rejoin their confederates.

## Tunis hijackers threaten to blow up airliner unless they are allowed to go free

From Simon Scott Plummer  
Tunis, Nov 24

The four hijackers of the British Airways VC 10 tonight threatened to blow up the aircraft unless they were allowed to disembark in Tunis without being handed over to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or prosecuted.

Their first deadline of 7 pm GMT was extended to 9 pm GMT and then to 7 am GMT tomorrow after intervention by Mr Tahar Belkhoja, Tunisian Minister of the Interior, and Mr Abu Iyad, deputy to the PLO leader, Mr Yassir Arafat.

As the second deadline approached negotiations were continuing between the Tunisian authorities, the PLO, Mr James Craig, head of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and other Arab diplomats.

The two-day drama quickened during the day with the release by the hijackers of the remaining passengers and of the cabin crew, in exchange for winter holidays.

The released Palestinians who arrived from Cairo and Amsterdam, walked to the VC 10 in full view of a large crowd

of journalists, airline passengers and onlookers in the main terminal.

A peculiar feature of the events here is that the airliner is parked only 300 yards or so from the terminal, affording everyone a grandstand view of proceedings. These included the killing yesterday morning of a West German passenger, Herr Werner Kehl, who was shot dead in the back doorway and fell 15ft to the tarmac.

Another bizarre touch is that the harrowing events of the past two days have taken place against the arrival of scheduled flights bringing tourists for winter holidays.

Miss Lesley Bruen, aged 23, from Marlow, Buckinghamshire, a British Airways air stewardess who was released last night, told reporters today that the treatment of the hostages had been generally good. At first the hijackers were aggressive but they smiled occasionally after that. They were heavily armed with guns and grenades.

Miss Bruen said that when the four seized the aircraft at 11.30pm on Friday they made everyone sit down where they were. Later they were herded into the middle of the aircraft. The backs of the seats before and behind them were laid horizontally to give the terrorists a better view of the cabin. There was little panic among the passengers.

Miss Bruen had no idea why the German was selected for killing, but said that it was very quick. "We heard the shots. That brought everyone out of a stupor."

Other passengers said that the hijackers had heard on the radio that the 13 guerrillas from Cairo, whose release they had originally demanded, had arrived at Tunis on Friday night. When they discovered that the report was false they "went berserk" and shot the German.

Survivors' stories and condemnation by Arabs, page 7

## Ethiopia's military rulers execute 60 former ministers and service chiefs

Adis Ababa, Nov 24—Ethiopia's military rulers have executed 60 former members of the former Emperor's cabinet, including a former prime minister, Mr Aklilu Habte-Wold, and Mr Endalkachew Makskenen, former Governor of the famine-stricken province of Wollo.

Some 140,000 people are reported to have died in last year's drought and famine.

No mention was made of the former Emperor, who has been in Army custody since the coup, but it was assumed that he was unharmed.

Radio bulletins of the mass executions were broadcast this morning in an announcement by the Supreme Military Council, which has ruled the country since Emperor Haile Selassie was deposed in a military coup last September.

Among the 29 civilians and 31 military officers executed was Lieutenant-General Aman Andom, chairman of the Provisional Military Government who was put under house arrest only on Friday.

With him died Rear-Admiral

the previous regime who had thrived on corruption, maladministration, and enriched themselves at the country's expense.

It was not made public how or where the 60 died, but it is believed that they were shot.

All the victims were among some 200 prisoners being held in cells of the deposed Emperor's former palace, which has been taken over by the Military Council, to be tried.

Today's announcement said those still in custody would be tried by a military tribunal.

The statement, read over the radio between intervals of martial law, said the decision to carry out the mass executions was one of policy—to mete out justice to officials of

the previous regime.

His speech was clearly designed as a rallying call to those who do not wish the party to be stamped by the left wing.

He set out four propositions, saying:

First, the sovereignty of Parliament, the elected House of Commons. The annual conference is an important sounding board for our party. As such, it can influence the evolution of policy but it cannot dictate to MPs who are elected by a deadlocked Marxist.

The fiction that annual conference is a supreme policy-making body was written into the Labour Party constitution in 1918. It was already out of date by 1920. Fifty years later it is simply anachronistic.

Taken literally it would be in direct conflict with the British constitution.

If those of us in the majority let this case go by default, we shall only have ourselves to blame.

Britain does not want either conservatism or Marxism. We need the middle road which can be provided by a moderate Labour Party, dedicated to reform rather than revolution. I believe our Labour government can fulfil this role. But we shall only succeed if we argue positively for social democratic policies.

Continued on page 2, col 2

## Herbert Sutcliffe 80 not out

Mr Herbert Sutcliffe, the former Yorkshire and England opening batsman, celebrated his eightieth birthday and recovery from double pneumonia in hospital in Harrogate yesterday.

Champagne was drunk in the ward, and among messages from all over the country was a card from Yorkshire County Cricket Club.

"I am feeling much better and looking forward to going home", he said. "I switch on the radio at seven each morning to follow the MCC in Australia". His new home will be a bungalow at Addingham, near Ilkley.

Mr Sutcliffe is the 10th batsman to reach 80 not out.

## HOME NEWS

# Mrs Thatcher, rising Tory star, urged by MPs to challenge Mr Heath for party leadership

By David Wood

Political Editor

Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Opposition Front Bench specialist on finance and taxation, is beginning to come under increasing pressure from some backbenchers to allow her name to go forward as a challenger for the leadership of the Conservative Party against Mr Heath next year.

Although, like other members of Mr Heath's Shadow Cabinet, she excluded herself from candidature immediately after the October election, there could clearly be circumstances in which she would see it to be her duty to stand.

Replying to suggestions in October that she might offer herself in the leadership ballot, Mrs Thatcher commented that she doubted whether the Conservative Party was yet ready for a woman leader, and added that she considered a party leader and potential prime minister needed to have had experience she lacks so far in one or more of the most important offices of state. She obviously had in mind the Treasury, the Foreign Office or the Home Office.

There is no reason to think that she no longer takes that realistic view of her chances. But in some respects the party situation at Westminster

Westminster evidence shows that a majority, probably a decisive majority, of the Parliamentary Conservative Party, at the time being, is determined that Mr Heath should face a challenger after he has put forward proposals for a revised leadership election procedure by Easter, on the basis of studies now being made by Sir Alec Douglas-Home and nine representatives of party organizations.

Yet a difficulty remains: no obvious challenger to nominate against Mr Heath is in the ring. Mr Whitelaw, the party chairman, is virtually inhibited from standing unless Mr Heath volunteers his resignation, and he is deliberately keeping himself out of the limelight in the House of Commons to avoid personal and party embarrassment.

Mr Keith Joseph, the first hope of the Conservative right wing, has lost ground since the election, quite apart from growing doubts whether he has the necessary temperament, as distinct from intellectual calibre, for the leadership.

Mr Edward du Cann for the present rests on the statement that he must exclude himself because as chairman of the 1922 Committee he would be required to supervise the leadership election; and Sir Christopher Soames, who has some support in high places, cannot

run until he takes his place once again in the Commons.

Meanwhile Mrs Thatcher is recognized everywhere as a rising Conservative star. She reinforced her reputation for political aggression combined with hard research when she appeared on the Conservative headquarters platform during the election campaign to announce the new party policy for 9½ per cent mortgages and easier home ownership.

Mr Heath immediately recognized her increased party status when, in the new Parliament, he made her a full Treasury shadow minister working in tandem with Mr Roy Jenkins.

Since Parliament opened she has made a formidable name as a Commons debater, and it is not unusual to hear Conservative backbenchers saying: "She is the best man among them."

Mr John Gorst, who like Mrs Thatcher sits for a Barnet constituency, spoke on BBC radio yesterday of the hopes that she now raises among Mr Heath's critics, not least those who take a traditional view of Conservative principles.

"First and foremost", Mr Gorst said, "the leader of the Conservative Party must be somebody who is modern, compassionate and thoroughly Conservative in the sense of being dedicated to Conservative principles."

Secondly, whoever is the leader of the Conservative Party historically has always needed to be more Cavalier than Roundhead, and in recent years we have had the most Roundhead administration and Roundhead leadership. The Conservative Party has ever had to endure.

"In modern times a Cavalier is a person who has flair and feeling. A Roundhead administration, such as I am talking about, is one in which we have seen far too many management consultants, analysts, lawyers, and accountants, and not enough account taken of people's feelings. Ted Heath has many great qualities, but they all tend to be Roundhead rather than Cavalier."

Mr Gorst said that the great virtue of Mrs Thatcher was that she knew how to inject a great deal of political feeling, as in the Budget debate, when she produced a devastating round of criticisms. "She has an incisive mind", he said, "she's absolutely straight, she has great energy, great ability, and she also understands that by the use of humour you can communicate with people where a thousand words can't."

Mr Gorst accurately reflected the impressions that are now increasingly held of Mrs Thatcher. It is not forgotten that in Cabinet, between 1970 and

1974, while colleagues were complaining that Sir Keith Joseph had only a minor contribution to make outside his departmental brief, Mrs Thatcher was always the most vigilant scrutineer of any Whitehall proposal that conflicted with her conception of Conservative principles and policies.

Mrs Thatcher has already risen as high in politics as any woman except Mrs Castle, with whom she shares the quality that she neither asks nor gives quarter in breaking a lance with male politicians. She is sometimes brasher than Mrs Castle, though like her she never sacrifices her femininity. It has been one of the criticisms occasionally brought against her that she personifies the old Tory grande dame.

But any image of the grande dame remains an extremely misleading one. Her origins were not wholly different from Mr Heath's. She is the daughter of an off-High Street grocer in Grantham, and she attended the local girls' high school until she won a scholarship to Somerville College, Oxford, to read chemistry. She took first class honours.

As Margaret Roberts she fought the torom of hope of Dartford for the Conservatives in 1950 and 1951, and began reading for the Bar to become a tax lawyer. By the time she entered the Commons in 1959 she was married to an industrialist and had become the mother of twins, both of whom have attended public schools.

As a frontbencher in opposition she brought her energy and thoroughness of research, in turn, to taxation, transport, power, housing, pensions and education; but until Labour won the election on October 10 last she seemed to be condemned, like most women politicians, to a round of the social service portfolios.

When Mr Heath was faced with a prospect of Labour Budgets at intervals of three months the load on the Shadow Chancellor obliged him to recruit Mrs Thatcher's services for the Finance Bills, and the probability now must be that she will prove to be the first woman Chancellor Britain has had.

Nobody who has followed Mrs Thatcher's political development in her 15 years at Westminster may doubt that she has the potential for growth that must be in all party leaders. But, after her own long search for a winnable Conservative seat, she will need no reminding that Conservative women are not the warmest sponsors of Conservative women candidates, and she will deduce once again that these are early days for the party to plump for a woman leader.

Tory inquest, page 14

## Emergency powers to include ban on IRA

By Our Political Staff

Mr Jenkins intends to include the banning of the IRA among the emergency measures he will set out to the House of Commons today. It is illegal in the republic and Northern Ireland, but there has been reluctance to follow suit in Britain largely for reasons given by Mr Maudling, the former Home Secretary, on BBC radio yesterday.

It was very difficult to enforce a ban on the IRA, he said, because it involved proving that a man was a member of an illegal organization. But it would now be wise to bring in the ban, unless the police had strong practical objections, because of the strength of public feeling. That is precisely the Government's position as well.

Mr Jenkins will also specify the additional powers that will be given to the police to question suspects. Some of the judges' rules will be revised in order to deal with terrorists.

The police will be authorized to detain a suspect for questioning for up to six days before bringing a charge and the suspect is likely to lose his right to silence under police interrogation, though the changes will not provide justification for physical intimidation or maltreatment.

There will be stricter control on the movement of people and goods from both parts of Ireland into Britain and extended powers of deportation. The essence of the emergency powers in all those instances is that suspicion will be enough to justify action.

There will be the right to turn a person back at the ports on the ground of suspicion, and suspicion will be sufficient reason for a court ordering the deportation of a person on a police recommendation. Strict control at the ports should avoid the absurdity of a person deported to Ireland being able to catch the next boat back.

The Government will not, at this stage at any rate, issue identity cards or restore capital punishment. Mr Jenkins has considered with great care whether the treason statutes might be applied to terrorists, but the legal advice is that the statutes are so vague and obscure that such a step would not be practicable even if it were desirable.

He has decided that it could lead to gross anomalies if the death penalty was reimposed for terrorists only, and if necessary he would prefer to see it restored generally.

## Seven Ulster killings point to Catholic revenge squads

From Robert Fisk  
Belfast

Seven murders within 36 hours made the past weekend the worst period of sectarian warfare in Northern Ireland since the violence started five years ago. But it also emphasized a disturbing new pattern. In addition to the maintenance by "loyalist" extremists of their assassination squads there is now the apparent rise from within the Roman Catholic community of gunmen bent on killing Protestants out of revenge.

Of the seven victims, two of them girls, four were Catholics and three Protestants. It is notoriously difficult to apportion responsibility for the civilian killings in Northern Ireland and the *religion of the victim does not necessarily indicate the community from which the killer means is meted out by Catholics*.

Several recent murders, however, suggest that the attention has widened and there are reports that within the IRA itself a strong argument is being put forward to the effect that Protestant assassinations can be stopped only if similar treatment is meted out by Catholics.

Whatever the resolution is reached in this ghastly argument, the Army and police in Belfast seem powerless to prevent the continuing murders.

Of the seven deaths, six took

place within a mile of the city centre and the Royal Ulster Constabulary was yesterday investigating a report that an eighth person, an elderly man, was hurled off a bridge into the River Lagan during the night.

The first two deaths occurred on Friday afternoon. The victims were a Catholic girl petrol pump attendant in Turf Lodge and a Catholic customer in an Oldpark public house. Then early on Saturday a Royal Military Police patrol on the Hightown Road, not far from Belfast airport, discovered an abandoned taxi with the key in the ignition.

They found a shot in a field next to the road and not far away the body of Mr Thomas Gumm, aged 34, a Catholic whose temporary home was off the Antrim Road in Belfast. He had been shot twice in the head, twice in the back and had

apparently been beaten up several times before being murdered.

The fourth and fifth killings occurred in the Upper Crumlin Road, which borders the Catholic Ardoyne district, later in the day. An unopened customer walked into the office of the Edenderry Filling station, after finding that no one came to serve him petrol. On the floor he found the bodies of Miss Heather Thompson, the petrol pump attendant, and Mr John McLean, who had taken up his new post that morning.

Miss Thompson, who like Mr McLean was a Protestant, was only 17; she had been shot in the neck, apparently at close range. The shooting was almost identical to that at Turf Lodge, and there is scarcely any doubt that it is a revenge murder.

The sixth and seventh murders occurred on Saturday night when two or three gunmen

walked into the offices of the Arklie taxi company, in Clifton Street. Opening fire indiscriminately, they killed Mrs Mary Shepherd, aged 41, the wife of the proprietor, who was talking on a two-way taxi radio. A Catholic with four children, she had been several times in the head

and body.

In the outer office Mr William Hutton, a Protestant of 50, was also killed instantly. He was a watchman waiting for a taxi to take him home.

With so much death abroad, the only obsequies of the weekend came at the Milltown cemetery in Belfast on Saturday when the IRA buried James McDade, the Coventry bomber who blew himself to pieces.

The church authorities largely shunned the funeral and fewer than 300 people, some of whom

were photographed by military cameramen, walked in the cortège to the cemetery.

Discussion, however, could not take place in isolation, the management say, and they want

a "standing trial" when the panel calls them before it.

## Prayers said outside shattered public house

From a Staff Reporter

A short service was held in the rain yesterday outside the shattered Mulberry Bush public house in Birmingham. Two hundred members of the congregation of the Birmingham parish church of St Martin's in the Bullring and the United Reformed Church in Carr's Lane took part.

Some members of the congregation were in tears as

prayers were offered by the Rector of Birmingham, Canon Peter Hall, and the minister from Carr's Lane, the Rev Michael Hubbard.

Requiem Mass was said in all the Birmingham Roman Catholic churches, 123 of whose priests issued a statement condemning last Thursday's bombings in the city.

An appeal fund for relatives

of the dead, which was launched

by the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Councillor James Eames, stood at over £25,000 within a day of being started. A contribution of £15,000 came from the Midlands Brewers Association.

Trade union leaders, who had put out repeated appeals to members in the factories for no repetition of Friday's clashes with Irish workers, were awaiting reports this morning with some anxiety.

Mr Brian Mathers, the Ulster regional secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union and chairman of the regional TUC, said: "I appeal to trade unionists to keep calm. We must not play into the hands of the terrorists, whose desire is to frighten us into hasty action.

The most positive contribution

that can be made is financial

By Raymond Pernan  
Labour Staff

The Government's intention to remove limitations on the power of trade unions to enforce closed shops raised not only the general issue of individual liberty but also the possibility of a particularly damaging impact on the freedom of the press, Mr C. D. Hamilton, chairman and editor-in-chief of *London Newspapers*, said at the Fondazione Angelo Kiroli conference in Milan on Saturday.

Coupled with the new attitude of the National Union of Journalists to editors, it was the most alarming of the threats to press independence. "It would mean that editors could be mercilessly squeezed between an overbearing union and an employer who, in view of the law, felt no pressure to moderate what editors would exert themselves."

He said that last week some newspapers had been temporarily closed because union journalists would not process the copy of non-union members. Inevitably the main task of a union was to protect the pay and conditions of its members.

If now, however, the NUJ was allowed to dominate the running of a newspaper it would eventually conflict with that

newspaper's development in editors' wishes.

Editors had been left, Mr Hamilton said, with the choice of leaving the union or leaving themselves open to intolerable pressure to observe the discipline required of full union members.

"The NUJ insists that it wants to protect the freedom of the press, but if so one is entitled to ask why its leadership is now prepared to make editors and others vulnerable to persecution."

The readers' wishes might be to hear all sorts of voices from football club managers to non-journalist politicians. A restrictive attitude could only lead to the stultification of journalism. There was a fundamental conflict between protection of employment and the need for an editor to change a newspaper to keep it vital and innovative.

A deputation of every Fleet Street editor had seen Mr Foot, the Secretary of State for Employment, and tried to convince him that newspapers could be exempted from the closed shop provisions in the new Bill introduced in the Commons on Thursday. It was an unsatisfactory meeting, although the minister had said he would be prepared to see the editors again.

How difficult it is to reconcile the Mr Foot of today and his previous reputation as that

greatest historian and admirer of eighteenth and nineteenth century radical journalists, who if they knew what was happening now would turn in their graves. However, the editors are in no mood to let the position go by default and they will fight on in the hope of convincing Mr Foot that the Bill must be modified.

The readers' wishes might be to support their belief that a Labour government.

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mass believe that the Fiter

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very seriously. But it was reasonable to expect that they would be reborn in the evidence of some Labour politicians to the Royal Commission on the Press.

Mr Hamilton continued:

We know that this commission was set up and its terms of reference

defined by a government, and particularly a prime minister, who

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NUJ would no longer offer to join. What I did was that

## ME NEWS

## Government stifling personal freedom, Sir Geoffrey says

Staff Reporter  
Mutual independence and safety were in grave and growing danger in Britain, Sir Geoffrey Howe, shadow Secretary of State for Social Services, told a London yesterday of the Royal Federation of the Self-employed.

process of "collective and collective coercion", used by the Government, seemed to "proletarianize the personal people".

At a rally in the 1,100-seat Mary Suite of the International Hotel, attended by 400 people, protest at the proposed increase in national insurance contributions from the self-employed would cost those earning less than £3,600 about £160 a year.

federation, which claims more than 5,000 membership, is to meet Mr Geoffrey, Minister of State at the Department of Health and Security, today to protest move.

Geoffrey attacked the Government's plans to persuade self-employed consultants into full-time work for the state, and government's sympathy with "industrial action aimed at getting out" pay beds.

Geoffrey said: "We don't want

all the personal people to be forced into a grave and growing danger in Britain, Sir Geoffrey Howe, shadow Secretary of State for Social Services, told a London yesterday of the Royal Federation of the Self-employed.

process of "collective and collective coercion", used by the Government, seemed to "proletarianize the personal people".

At a rally in the 1,100-seat Mary Suite of the International Hotel, attended by 400 people, protest at the proposed increase in national insurance contributions from the self-employed would cost those earning less than £3,600 about £160 a year.

federation, which claims more than 5,000 membership, is to meet Mr Geoffrey, Minister of State at the Department of Health and Security, today to protest move.

Geoffrey attacked the Government's plans to persuade self-employed consultants into full-time work for the state, and government's sympathy with "industrial action aimed at getting out" pay beds.

Geoffrey said: "We don't want

## The muddled story of the house that never was

## Regional Report

Arthur Osman  
Birmingham

Then, on April 1, came news that the strip of land formed part of the highway and Mr Carr did not require permission for access. In the hour that followed receipt of this news by letter, workmen arrived to cut the access for Mr Carr, but retreated in the face of aged but formidable opposition.

Residents were soothed with the promise that the original planning consent would be reconsidered in May. On May 15 workmen appeared and hurriedly departed because of opposition, the same thing happening the next day despite a police escort.

On May 21, at short notice, three residents met Councillor William Sowton, the committee chairman, who told them that planning consent had been confirmed five days earlier.

Two months ago Councillor Brian May, the housing chairman, said: "Permission should never have been given for the house. The strip of land is owned by us... He cannot come across our land and we are not going to give permission as ground landlords."

Then on October 30 a housing official said that half the strip was part of the highway so it had reluctantly been agreed that access could be given.

Mr Reginald Eyre, Conservative MP for Hall Green, who has supported the residents' case, said: "I believe this involves deep research into the way Birmingham Corporation is administered."

## Police breaches secrecy legged in report

Our Home Affairs respondent says allegations about breaches of secrecy by the police over criminal records will be included in a report later this week to Mr. Norman, the Secretary of State for Employment.

Allegations were made on Friday at a conference in Liverpool organized by the National Association of Probation Officers, and attended by former offenders, representatives of employers, magistrates, the probation ministry office and academics.

A woman in an employment agency said that a hotel owner demonstrated to her how he could find out a man's record from police friends. She said she had sent him three boys for work but omitted to say that he had been charged with a minor offence, his only one.

The employer rang back and said I had omitted to tell that, she said.

He reported to Mr. Foot on conference will give him ideas on how to get jobs for former offenders, in the hope that the idea to be included in the report is that if former offenders steal at work or commit fraud, employers should be compensated.

## Prisoners seek inquiry

Our Home Affairs respondent says a letter with 57 signatures addressed from inmates in the wing at Hull prison has been smuggled to The Times. He complains about the treatment of two men in a segregation unit.

He letter says that the two men are in no way being helped in confinement there, and urges that an inquiry should be held into their treatment and need for more psychiatric attention.

The letter alleges that the Home Office says men are seen daily by the medical officer without fail. He also sees men awaiting adjudication from the governor on whether they go into segregation.

## Rare Jacob sheep enter field of exports

By Philip Howard

Unnoticed by the Hudson Institute and other economic doom watchers, Britain has just registered a small but significant achievement in the export field by selling the first Jacob sheep for breeding outside Britain.

Turning to the proposal by Mrs Castle, Secretary of State for Social Services, to increase National Insurance Contributions, Sir Geoffrey said the burden would fall on everyone working on his own account, from barbers to bookbinders, shopkeepers to window cleaners.

"Among the people who will be hard hit by Mrs Castle's levy are authors, broadcasters, musicians, and self-employed journalists", he said. What is Mr Jenkins, the minister for the arts, doing about this? How can he be happy with what his colleague, Barbara Castle, is going to do to the creative professions?

Sheila Black, the freelance journalist, said people were not self-employed from choice. Some had to work at home through necessity. Nor was it true that self-employed people "got away" with big tax concessions.



Lady Astor of Hever with a Jacob ram at Hever Castle.

Jacob sheep are born with black spots, which turn brown as they mature. Literal interpreters of Genesis suppose that they were brought from Palestine across North Africa to Spain by the Moors. Some say the ancestors of Jacob sheep were shipwrecked with the Armada on the Hebrides.

They certainly seem related to the almost extinct Hebridean breed, the Saint Kilda. Ovine scientists postulate a kinship with the Finnish Landrace breed and affinities with the Karakul.

Enthusiasts commend the breed for its precocity, fecundity, and long breeding season, as well as its unusual capacity to provide wool of three different colours.

Until now Jacob sheep have been used chiefly as park sheep, because of their decorative appearance, like samurai with their ornate helmets. They are lighter and have lighter fleeces than the conventional commercial breed.

Lady Astor, walking her handsome ram, Rameses to demonstrate, said: "They are easy to handle or tether; very good for small acreages. They are less liable to footrot than other breeds. Their meat provides lighter cuts than other sheep, and it has a distinctive and delicious flavour."

The Hever flock provides wool which Lady Astor has had woven into a multicoloured cloak, knickerbockers and other more ordinary garments. She plans to set up spinning wheels and a loom in the long gallery of Hever castle.

## Benefit tribunals are accused of bias

By Pat Healy  
Social Services Correspondent

Further evidence in support of the case for extending legal aid to social security tribunals is published today in a report by the Child Poverty Action Group.

It alleges that supplementary benefit appeal tribunals are often not impartial.

The report says that tribunal members are ignorant of the social security laws and of their own powers in hearing appeals.

As a result, they often act as appendices to the Supplementary Benefits Commission, instead of providing an independent check.

Last week the Lord Chancellor's advisory committee recommended the extension of legal aid to all tribunals, including supplementary benefit appeals. The main argument for it, the committee said, was that many appellants were at a disadvantage because they lacked the confidence and skill to make the best of their case and found it difficult to deal with the complex issues that could be raised.

That view is borne out in the Child Poverty Action Group report based on a study by Miss Ruth Lister, its legal research officer. Miss Lister interviewed 74 of the chairmen and members of the seven tribunals in London, attended many appeal hearings and drew on the experience of group members throughout Britain.

She concludes that many people appealing to a supplementary benefit tribunal will not receive a fair and independent hearing and that that makes their right to appeal meaningless. Most appellants, she points out, are not represented at appeal hearings, but

those who are have a markedly higher chance of a successful appeal.

Miss Lister suggests that one bar to fairness is the informality of the proceedings. Appellants are not always able to present their case fully and are often interrupted by tribunal members with questions of doubtful relevance. Tribunals also tend to accept heresy evidence from the commission, but some refuse as inadmissible documentary evidence presented by appellants or their representatives.

Miss Lister accuses tribunal members of bias against certain groups of appellants because of a tendency to consider whether they are "deserving". Pensioners are regarded as deserving, but the unemployed are not.

But the impartiality of hearings is undermined more critically by tribunal members' own ignorance of the law. Miss Lister alleges. They fail to recognize the basic conflict between the interests of the appellant and the commission, and rely on the commission's presenting officer and the clerk to the tribunal as impartial sources of information and advice on the law.

But both are employed by the commission, Miss Lister points out.

The report recommends a number of reforms, including the right to legal aid for appellants and the establishment of a second-tier appeal body whose decisions would be binding. Justice for the Claimant: A Study of Supplementary Benefit Appeal Tribunals, by Ruth Lister, Child Poverty Action Group, 1 Macklin Street, London, WC2, 65p plus postage.)

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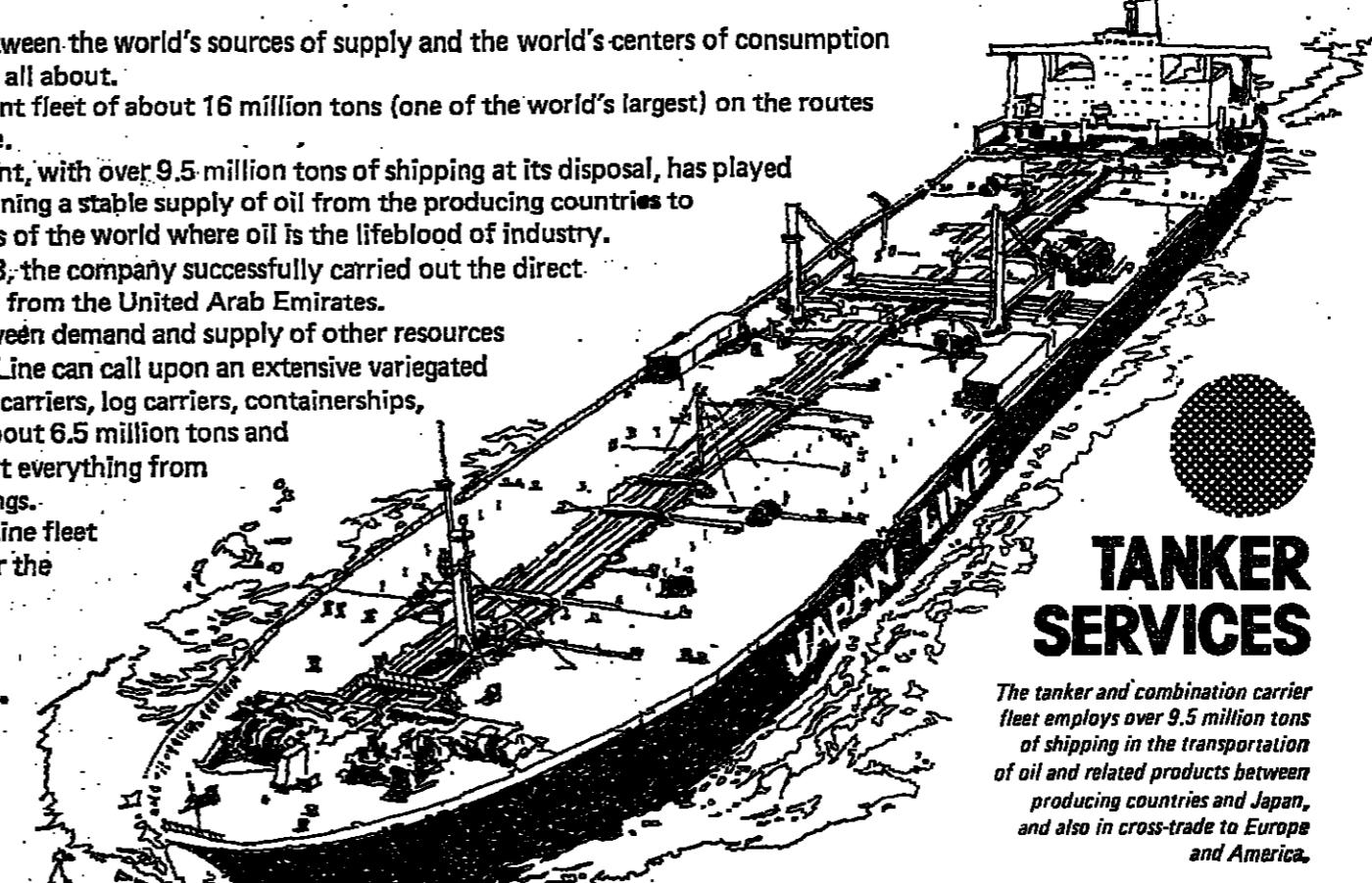
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# Appeal to the U.S.S.R. Government for the release of Soviet Jewish Prisoners of Conscience

In the Soviet Union, over thirty Jewish prisoners languish in prison camps for seeking to go to Israel; some already held for several years. Engineers, scientists, artists, physicians, workers, linguists, school teachers and students, many of them ex-servicemen - they were sentenced at trials closed to the general public and impartial observers. Even before verdicts were brought against them, Soviet newspapers declared them guilty.

These men and women are not criminals. They were arbitrarily chosen as scapegoats. Most of them had acted

no differently from thousands of Jews who were allowed to emigrate to Israel. They are innocent. The Soviet authorities have recently released Silva Zalmanson, after she had spent four agonising years of a ten-year sentence in prison labour-camps.

We, the undersigned, urge the Soviet Government to extend this gesture of humanity to the others still held captive. For the sake of a meaningful detente, in the true interests of justice, let them go!

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## WEST EUROPE

## Dismay over methods used in choosing new Italian Cabinet

From Our Correspondent  
Rome, Nov 24

Dismay is expressed today about the methods used in choosing the members of Signor Aldo Moro's new Government, which was sworn in last night. After 50 days, Italy's longest interregnum is now over.

Signor Paolo Emilio Taviani, one of the few leading Christian Democrats, who was an active anti-fascist, has been removed from the Ministry of the Interior and was too angry to take any other post.

Signor Giulio Andreotti, the former Prime Minister, who had been distinguishing himself with an attempt to straighten the convoluted affairs of the secret service, has been shifted from the Ministry of Defence to that of Economic Planning and Southern Development.

It is said that Signor Moro himself had to resist an attempt to place an acknowledged representative of the Christian Democratic right, Signor Fausto Piccoli, at the Ministry of the Interior. Whatever his private views about Signor Piccoli, Signor Moro apparently reacted sharply because of fears that the Socialists, on whom he will depend in Parliament, were worried about alleged conservative pressure on the choice of ministers.

The Socialists were particularly happy to see Signor Moro back, and presumably have no intention of allowing the leader of the Christian Democratic left from being hemmed in by right-wing appointees.

The changes involving the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of the Interior were made ostensibly on the grounds of the need to rotate Cabinet posts rather than leave the same faces in the same posts; but the choice of which ministers should be rotated scarcely gives much credence to the idea that the Christian Democratic leadership was really abiding by a principle.

Signor Taviani is understood

to have been quite frank on this point when told by Senator Amintore Fanfani, secretary of the party, that he was to be rotated from the Interior Ministry. He is said to have declared: "I would say that this is all a manoeuvre to get me out of the Ministry of the Interior."

Newspaper criticism is harsh. The *Milan Corriere della Sera* commented this morning that the Christian Democrats had done exactly what it had been decided they should not do—to maintain "a strict tie between the formation of the Government and the internal affairs of the Christian Democratic Party".

*La Stampa*, of Turin, is upbraided today by the Christian Democratic Party newspaper *Il Popolo* for having cast doubt about the constitutional propriety of what had been done.

*La Stampa* said that the party leadership, not the Prime Minister-designate, had distributed the ministries. Signor Moro is seen to be particularly vulnerable because he has no strength within his party but no strong faction of his own.

His minority Administration will need support outside its own ranks in parliament to survive. The formation of this coalition between Christian Democrats and Republicans marks Signor Moro's return after six years to lead a government. It will be his fourth and Italy's thirty-seventh since the fall of Fascism. The list is as follows:

Prime Minister: Aldo Moro (Chr Dem). Deputy Prime Minister: Ugo La Malfa (Public Administration). Francesco Cossiga (Chr Dem). Foreign Affairs: Tommaso Moro (Chr Dem). Scientific Research: Mario Pedalà (Chr Dem). Environment: Giovanni Spadolini (Chr Dem). Foreign Affairs: Martino Rumor (Chr Dem). Justice: Oronzo Reale (Rep). Economic Planning and the South: Bruno Vassilini (Rep). Finance: Bruno Vassilini (Rep). Treasury: Ettilio Colombo (Chr Dem). Defense: Arnaldo Forlani (Chr Dem). Education: Franco Maria Malfatti (Chr Dem). Public Works: Pietro Bacigalupi (Rep). Transport: Giovanni Marcora (Chr Dem). Industry: Carlo Donati-Cattin (Chr Dem). Merchant Navy: Giovanni Gioia (Chr Dem). State Participation: Antonio Bisaglia (Chr Dem). Agriculture: Antonio Gatti (Chr Dem). Tourism: Adelio Sarti (Chr Dem).

Signor Taviani is understood

## Brandt plan alarms EEC socialists

From Roger Berthoud  
Brussels, Nov 24

Here, Willy Brandt's suggestion last week that the stronger EEC countries should press ahead with integration faster than weaker ones has aroused hostility and anxiety among European socialists.

This was one of the clearest lessons of a three-day meeting in Brussels of the European Socialist Movement, which ended today. The movement groups pro-European MPs, trade unionists and other activists. The Labour Committee for Europe is the British component.

There was keen interest among the Britons over whether the Brandt thesis would be repeated by Herr Schmidt, the West German Chancellor, when he addresses the Labour Party conference later this week.

crisis to boycott the projected tripartite social conference in December between governments, employers and trade unions of the Nine.

He hoped his opposite number, Mr Len Murray (who was present) would realize that the moment had come for others to share in the EEC's decision-making process, and feared the forthcoming Paris summit had no hopes of success.

Delegates at the meeting feared that the Brandt plan for a differentiated application of EEC decisions by rich and poor might appeal to nationalist elements in weaker countries like Italy and Britain.

Mr Georges Debrune, the secretary general of the Belgian Trade Union Federation, lamented the decision of the British TUC in this hour of

right. But the Foreign Ministers of the Nine, with Mr Roy Hattersley, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, representing Britain, none the less will be meeting in Brussels again tomorrow to prepare the summit. This time they will concentrate on energy, regional and social policy and the fight against inflation and unemployment.

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## Left-wing swing predicted after Lisbon party congress

From Our Correspondent  
Lisbon, Nov 24

A left-wing swing to the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD) is predictable after this weekend's first national two-day congress of the party in Lisbon. The PPD is, with the Socialist and Communist parties and the Movimento Democrático Português, one of the country's leading political groups.

Nearly 1,000 delegates attended the first meeting in Lisbon's sports pavilion on Saturday. Among them were 48 members of the Social Democratic Youth group. Only official delegates had the right to vote on motions of interest to the party on the agenda. They included election of party officials and the statutes and programme of the party.

At the conclusion of the congress emphasized the party's position as left-of-centre. It supported nationalization of the means of production and a social democratic society in Portugal with powers vested in a parliament.

## Britain abstains in Unesco vote on Arab rights

From Our Own Correspondent  
Paris, Nov 24

Unesco emerged much divided when its biennial General Assembly ended in Paris yesterday after a political offensive by the Arab countries, backed by others from the Third World.

Leading Western member nations, heavily outnumbered, stood aside as the assembly, after voting sanctions against Israel, gave the international organization the new task of ensuring that the Arabs in territories occupied by Israel were able to exercise their full educational and cultural rights, and pursue their own way of life. This was voted by 51 countries against five, with 22 abstentions, including Britain.

Police said about 30,000 people marched behind banners urging a halt to the outward sprawl of French-speaking Brussels into the Flemish countryside.

Other banners demanded the splitting of the central Belgian province of Brabant into separate French and Flemish communities.—Reuters

## French Socialists round on their Communist allies

From Richard Wigg  
Paris, Nov 24

The French Socialist Party rounded this weekend on the Communists who have been publicly attacking them for weeks, asserting that the Communist Party alone must bear all responsibility for breaching the unity of the left.

The Socialist leaders met here yesterday to debate their future attitude to the Communist Party. Less than 24 hours earlier, M Roland Leroy, the rising new star of the Communist Party whom M Georges Marchais, the Secretary-General, recently nominated as editor of *L'Humanité*, had attacked a number of left-wing figures, including Socialists.

He had declared pointedly: "At any rate, there will be no Communist ministers in a government while M Giscard d'Estaing is President." His words brought right into the open the chief element in the mass of dark suspicions the Communists have been nursing

against the party of M François Mitterrand in the past weeks.

They appear to believe that the Socialists, perhaps headed by M Gaston Defferre, a veteran parliamentary leader, may join a "Government of national unity" in the event of a grave economic crisis in France next year or the year after.

After eight hours of discussion the Socialists made a tough statement. It makes no mention of any fresh meeting between M Mitterrand and M Marchais, who have not seen each other for two months.

To lay the Communist suspicions, the Socialist Party reaffirmed its determination to do everything to win a majority in the National Assembly in order to secure "the formation" of a government charged with applying the "common programme of the left".

After the meeting the Socialist spokesman denied that his party had "ever envisaged joining a government with a reactionary majority".

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Norway and Russia try to delimit their sectors with strategic interests as well as gas or oil in mind

## Staking out claims to Arctic wastes

From Our Correspondent  
Oslo, Nov 24

Norway and Russia open negotiations tomorrow on the delimitation of the Norwegian and Soviet continental shelves in the north.

The Norwegian position is that its continental shelf stretches from the coast of the Norwegian mainland to the north around the territory of Svalbard (Spitsbergen) and beyond, and further that Svalbard has no continental shelf of its own beyond the present four miles territorial limit. In the Norwegian opinion the dividing line should be drawn according to the principles of the median line as laid down in the 1958 international convention on the continental shelf.

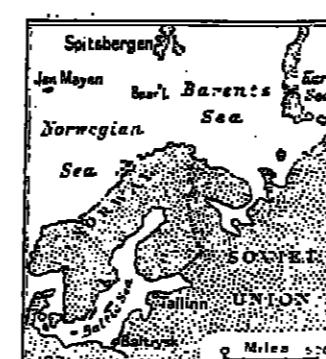
The Soviet position is not known. There is speculation that Russia may argue that the delimitation line should be based on the "sector" principle, which is used in the Arctic. This would give the Russians about 150,000 square miles more than if the median principle were used—an area about half the size of Norway.

There is also speculation that the Soviet Union may base its arguments on the reference to "special circumstances" which is mentioned in the 1958 continental shelf convention, and try to push its rights further.

The negotiations are not concerned only with the potential oil and gas resources of the shelf, but even more, with Soviet strategic interests in preventing others, and especially the major Western powers, from establishing a physical presence in the area. The Svalbard Passage between Svalbard and the mainland of Norway is the entrance to the Atlantic for the Soviet nuclear submarine fleet.

It has been a constant feature of Russian defence and foreign policy from the nineteenth century to prevent major foreign powers from establishing a foothold in this area, which forms the approaches to Murmansk and Archangel. Svalbard is, according to the treaty, demilitarized.

Norway has been very careful not to provoke the Russians in the north or to arouse Russian distrust about Norwegian intentions. For this reason a plan for building an airport at Svalbard was postponed for many years, and the airport was finally constructed the Russians pro-



vided their own staff and radio installations there.

To some extent the Russians have already disregarded Norway's sovereign power, and this the Norwegians have tacitly accepted. Taxation at Svalbard is at a flat and very low rate.

The Russians refuse to pay this and instead pay a lump sum per capita which they fix themselves. They also disregard some of the labour and safety regulations enacted by Norway and work according to their own system at the coal mines.

On occasions, such as during the last war, the Russians have tried to change the status of Svalbard to a Norwegian-Russian condominium to the exclusion of other signatory states. But this idea has not been aired for several years.

The idea of a kind of condominium or joint exploitation of the shelf may however come up, since this was mentioned by the International Court in the Hague in its judgment in the case of Germany versus Holland and Denmark on the delimitation of the North Sea shelf.

The course of the negotiations will depend very much on whether the other signatory states accept the view that Svalbard has no shelf of its own.

On the eve of the negotiations the United States has informed Norway that it reserves its position on the matter. Britain had previously done likewise.

The possibility that the issue may be internationalized as a consequence seems now to be more likely. It would be a nightmare for Norwegian defence and security policy if the present tranquillity and balance should be disturbed in this way.

Nor is it known whether the Russians accept the Norwegian view. They certainly do not want any sort of internationalization of the area. But even if they share the view that Svalbard has no shelf of its own, it does not automatically follow that they would agree that Svalbard serves as a basis for the national claim to the shelf. If Moscow should take a negative view and base its own claim on the median line between the Norwegian mainland and the Russian territory of Novaya Zembla and Franz Josef Land, the picture would look completely different. That would mean that the Russians would claim a major slice of the legitimate Norwegian shelf.

In an interview with the Lisbon newspaper *O Seculo* before the congress, Dr Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, one of the most dynamic of the party's young militants, said the present coalition in the Government (PPD, Socialists and Communists) should "continue intact and reinforced" at least until the parliamentary elections in March.

Nearly 1,000 delegates attended the first meeting in Lisbon's sports pavilion on Saturday. Among them were 48 members of the Social Democratic Youth group. Only official delegates had the right to vote on motions of interest to the party on the agenda. They included election of party officials and the statutes and programme of the party.

He said his party "already has bilateral relations with European social democratic parties".

At the conclusion of the congress emphasized the party's position as left-of-centre. It supported nationalization of the means of production and a social democratic society in Portugal with powers vested in a parliament.

The capital's diplomatic corps has spent the past few days speculating on the topics which the American Secretary of State may cover in his talks with Mr Chao Kuan-hua, the new Foreign Minister.

He is also expected to meet Mr Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister, though briefly, and probably at the hospital where Mr Chou has been undergoing treatment for an unspecified ailment, and Mr Teng Hsiao Ping, the deputy Prime Minister, who has recently been talking more and more to foreign visitors.

If the past pattern of Dr Kissinger's visits is followed, he will also have a meeting with Chairman Mao Tse-tung, who has been out of Peking for the past two or three months.

There is a strong feeling here that the brilliant coup of Peking are at an end, and that China and the United States are floundering in the attempt to find a relationship more substantial than the sort of drawing room cordiality which has been established over the past three years.

There are two main schools of thought: one is that the Americans have recently neglected China and that the Chinese are out to show that

## OVERSEAS



For weather friend: President Ford takes off the coat he wore for the Siberian cold and mink present of it to Mr Brezhnev before leaving for home from Vladivostok.

## Mistimed Ford visit failed to stir the Japanese people

From Peter Hazelhurst  
Tokyo, Nov 24

It can be safely said that President Ford's five-day trip to the Orient last week has had very little or no impact on the otherwise cordial ties between Tokyo, Seoul and Washington.

On the negative side, the timing of Mr Ford's visit was disastrous. Without being aware of it the President spent two days discussing the international political situation with Mr Tanaka, the Japanese Prime Minister, who had already made up his mind to resign as soon as his guest reached home.

In general, the Japanese people, discouraged by over-cautious security arrangements, have reacted with apathy to the visit. Apart from television coverage, President Ford was almost completely isolated from them. Even on the one occasion when he suddenly jumped out of his car to shake hands with people in a small crowd outside the Imperial Palace, it was later found that spectators had been selected and placed at a strategic point by the Japanese authorities.

The main reason for President Ford's two unsuccessful attempts to bring an American head of state to Tokyo since the Second World War. But on both occasions plans were cancelled at the last moment. Violent demonstrations by radical students forced the late General Eisen-

hower to cancel an official visit to Japan at

ERSEAS

## Egypt and Palestinian guerrilla leaders outraged by organizers of Tunis hijacking

Paul Martin

Nov 23  
Egypt and the Palestine Organization (PLO) declared war on outlaw groups like the one carried out the British Air-VC10 hijack in Tunis, and regimes that support them, are clearly embarrassed by fair and have called such treason, saying that it is longer tolerated.

Or reluctantly giving in to the hijackers' demands, the first hostage was never blackmailed.

A Foreign Ministry statement made it clear that the decision to save the lives of the hostages was and was after appeals from Britain their countries.

It behaviour can no longer be tolerated," the statement added. "Furthermore, it is clear that Arab quarters operating with criminal groups such as hijackers to the PLO." It did not state. But the hands of Libya were behind the group which gave itself name "Martyr of Abu Nidal squad".

The operation has angered Anwar Sadat to a degree that he now seems likely

to take positive action in future against his foes in the Arab world. This would involve the use of Egypt's intelligence network in the Arab countries where the rebel terrorists find sanctuary and support.

The British airliner episode was a great personal blow for President Sadat, to whom much of the credit must go for the Palestinian debut at the United Nations, and the subsequent favourable resolutions.

Iraq has already been named by the PLO as being behind the hijack. Although the Iraq Government has denied involvement the man who directed the operation is supported by Baghdad and is based there. He is Sabri al-Banna (code name Abu Nidal), formerly the Al Fatah representative in Baghdad who was sentenced to death in absentia by the PLO for "activities against the revolution".

But Iraq was not alone. The group run by Abu Nidal's "Assifa General Command" to which the hijackers belonged, is also supported by the Libyan regime.

The Baghdad and Tripoli connections have been evident in almost all of the maverick terror operations undertaken in international capitals. These two extremist regimes, which

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Our Own Correspondent  
Washington, Nov 24

versing the fashion for uncrossing presidential ambitions. Representative Morris Udall, who is 52, is a Mormon from Arizona, unusual combination. He is really unknown except to political insiders. What "name recognition" exists has been created by his brother, who was Secretary of the Interior under President Johnson and President John-

son at a launching press conference in New Hampshire one of the first primary elections (15 months hence) the candidate proclaimed the campaign issues to be the economy, the environment and energy. His order of priorities matches precisely his championing of clean air, water and in a subcommittee chairmanship in Congress.

He said, however, that he would appeal to the working man and woman. "We've got to give them more hope, a feel of participation in this country, and we've got to find a way of meeting the needs of ordinary Americans."

is supposed by political observers that Mr Udall might fit somewhat from the left supporters of Senators Kennedy and Mondale after their withdrawals. But Mr Udall is merely jumping the what is increasingly looks a mass start for a cross-party race.

more than a score of Democrats are limbering up, most them untried and unknown. Some of those supposedly on short list, like Senators Jackson and Lloyd Bentsen, has yet got into figures in percentage cognition in the opinion s. Far, far ahead of them is Governor George Wallace of Alabama, who knows the party would never nominate

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## Freed woman hostage 'sat and cowered'

Five women from the hijacked VC10 were flown back to London yesterday. They were: Mrs Margaret Adams, aged 28, an Australian secretary; Mrs Peterson, of Singapore; Mrs Tahan and Mrs Chakra-Berry, both of Calcutta; and Miss Indira Mason, aged 23, of Delhi, one of the stewards.

All five were driven from the tarmac at the Brabazon lounge, which is normally reserved for Government officials and heads of state. A store at Hounslow was opened specially for them to buy clothes.

Mrs Adams, close to tears, gave an account of the hijacking. "We were told absolutely nothing from start to finish," she said. "We heard sounds like fire-crackers and then I saw two men with rifles. They had sort of machine-guns with bayonets fixed on the ends. I just sat in my seat and cowered."

I looked outside the window and thought I saw the Indian hostess fall to the ground and then the man just came out, showed everybody inside, and we heard rifle shooting and someone else was running up and down.

It was not until I was in the airport at Tunis and had left the plane that I heard he was all right."

Mr Hendry, a banker from Dundee, had left the VC 10 at Dubai to visit the duty-free shop just before the hijackers attacked. After the airliner was flown to Tunis Mr Hendry could only wait helplessly.

Mrs Hendry said: "I was very glad he was not in the plane at that moment, but I was also worried in case he had been involved in the fighting on the ground. We heard shots and we knew that people had been injured—we had seen them taking away one or two people."

It was not until I was in the airport at Tunis and had left the plane that I heard he was all right."

We didn't know where we were going and what was happening. They allowed the captain to speak to us about three times. He said that they were commandos taking over the plane. If we behaved ourselves and kept calm, nothing would happen to us. I didn't believe it."

It was very hot and the air conditioning wasn't working on the aircraft. We had little food and in the end no water.

Asked about the shooting of the German businessman, Mrs Adams replied: "I thought he was with the terrorists. He was very friendly with them. He was been drinking."

The next thing I knew, they were talking about tomato sauce and bandages and the German was taken to the back and I

was called The Spotted Sphynx."

UN chief leaves for tour of Middle East

From Our Own Correspondent  
New York, Nov 24

Dr Kurt Waldheim, the United Nations Secretary-General, left New York on a trip to the Middle East today.

His aim is to reduce present tensions in the area, and in particular to press for the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations force on the Golan Heights.

They and Mr Mahmoud Hamed, a geological engineer (Public Works); Mr Tharwat Talhouni, a former Governor of Amman (Interior); Mr Rakan al-Jazri, a retired colonel (Minister of State for Prime Ministerial Affairs); Mr Muhammed Tawfiq, a former judge (Justice); Dr Trad al-Kadi (Health); Dr Muhammad al-Zaben (Municipal and Rural Affairs); and Mr Rajab Mousa (National Affairs).

die as bus skids on lorry on Iran road

Iran, Nov 24.—Twenty people were killed and 18 more when a bus skidded into a lorry today on the Teheran highway 21 miles west of the town of Zandjan—since France-Press.

envoys paving way for Kaunda-Vorster meeting

Zambia, Nov 24.—Zambia is holding secret talks with South Africa as part of a diplomatic offensive aimed at resolving standing problems in southern Africa, according to unnamed sources in Lusaka.

They said Zambian envoys had been flying to South Africa for the past two months to talk with officials there.

In Johannesburg today, the *Today Times* reported that a special emissary of Dr Kaunda met South Africa secretly last week, a visit which could pave the way for a meeting between the Zambian President and Mr Vorster, the Prime Minister. South African officials had no comment on the report, which said Zambian envoy had almost the same status as a Cabinet minister.

In any event, it cannot be

## Confident Karpov ready for Fischer

From Edmund Stevens  
Moscow, Nov 24

oppose Middle East peace moves have espoused discredited Al Fatah and other guerrillas willing to engage in freelance terror intended to embarrass the Arab leaders, the PLO leader, and moderate Arab regimes.

In the past Mr Sadat and like-minded Arab leaders have been virtually powerless to do anything about the terrorist rebels since Mr Arafat and his colleagues were either unwilling or unable to take any firm stand.

However, the PLO now clearly realizes that the responsible bestow upon it by the Rabat summit conference carries certain obligations.

Beirut, Nov 24.—The Syrian-backed Al Saqqa guerrilla group condemned the hijacking as "an unnationalist and immoral act which could only have been masterminded and planned by Zionists and imperialist circles."

—UPI.

Tripoli, Nov 24.—Libya today condemned the hijacking and accused Egypt of trying to discredit Libya by associating it with the operation. A Foreign Ministry statement said hijacking was "a rejected method which does not conform with the liberation aims but goes against them"—Reuter.

He was always a brilliant student, and at present heads his class at Leningrad University. He played in his first chess tournament at the age of nine, having started playing the game at four. When he was 15 he won the world junior championship, and became a grand master at 18.

Asked about his recent contest with Korchin, Karpov says the hardest moment was after the seventeenth game when he led 3-0. "I decided I had won the match and got careless, but my experienced rival, despite his predicament, found the courage and will to make a comeback and I lost the nineteenth and twenty-first games. But then I pulled myself together and stayed alert to the finish."

Harry Golombek writes: The final match in the candidates series to decide who shall challenge Bobby Fischer ended in Moscow last Friday in a narrow victory for Karpov, with a score of three wins, two losses and 19 draws. The match lasted for two months and a week, which in fact is more or less the average length of time for a championship match.

Indeed, this may well have turned out to be a struggle for the title. Both Fischer per-

sonal in maintaining his resig-

nation from what he has called

the RIDE World Championship

and if he refused to meet the challenge next year.

This would be a great pity as I can hardly imagine a more fascinating contest than a march between Fischer and Karpov. As to who would win such a match is anybody's guess. I myself tend to favour the younger player, Karpov, if only because he must be the best player in the world.

His wife said: "I was very glad he was not in the plane at that moment, but I was also worried in case he had been involved in the fighting on the ground. We heard shots and we knew that people had been injured—we had seen them taking away one or two people."

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Mr Rifai forms a new Jordan Cabinet

From Our Correspondent  
Amman, Nov 24

Mr Zeid Rifai, the Jordanian Prime Minister, last night formed a new government, in which he retained the defence and foreign affairs portfolios for himself.

The new government included among its 20 members four representatives of the West Bank. There were seven new ministers.

They and Mr Mahmoud Hamed, a geological engineer (Public Works); Mr Tharwat Talhouni, a former Governor of Amman (Interior); Mr Rakan al-Jazri, a retired colonel (Minister of State for Prime Ministerial Affairs); Mr Muhammed Tawfiq, a former judge (Justice); Dr Trad al-Kadi (Health); Dr Muhammad al-Zaben (Municipal and Rural Affairs); and Mr Rajab Mousa (National Affairs).

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This also would enable South Africa to withdraw the strong force of paramilitary police which it has sent to Rhodesia to help suppress nationalist guerrillas.

## 500,000 Greeks turn out to honour dead students

From Our Own Correspondent  
Athens, Nov 24

More than half a million angry demonstrators, shaking fists and waving banners, marched past the interrogation headquarters of the dreaded Greek military police and the neighbouring American Embassy chanting "murderers, murderers" and "demanding vengeance" for the Polytechnic massacre a year ago.

The march was the climax of three days of celebrations to commemorate the student revolt at the Polytechnic which eventually opened the way for the restoration of democracy in Greece after seven years of dictatorship. At least 18 Greeks were shot dead by the police and the Army.

It took the demonstrators more than two hours to march past. Discipline was remarkable. Some 3,000 students with arms

bands controlled the crowds. There were no incidents although police forces, armoured cars, and water canons were deployed in the area. The demonstrators dispersed quietly.

Earlier columns of Athenians converged on the Polytechnic under a warm afternoon sun, some bringing flowers, others carrying makeshift banners with slogans, still others with flags. They massed around the railings where a year ago student demonstrators had defied the junta's rule.

The bouquets of flowers carried notes of remembrance, thanks or devotion. One quoted Hemingway: "If people bring so much courage to the world, the world has to kill them to break them. So of course it kills them."

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## ENTERTAINMENTS

When telephoning use prefix 01 only outside London Metropolitan Area

## OPERA AND BALLET

COVENT GARDEN  
THE ROYAL BALLET 240 1911  
TOMORROW A 7.30 Mon. 7.30 Mon.  
TOMORROW A 7.30 & 7.30  
THE MUSICIAN 7.30  
THE ROYAL BALLET 7.30  
TOMORROW A 7.30, 7.30 FRI.

COLISEUM 10-11.30 1911  
ENGLISH NATIONAL OPERA  
"NINA" not yet rescheduled. For  
details on date of rescheduling after  
the 27th see *Entertainments*.

semi-staged performances  
MARGARET STUART Wed. & Sat. 7.30.  
UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM 7.30  
from 6.00 on day of perf. See *Entertainments*.

SADLER'S WELLS THEATRE 1674 From  
Ave. Wed. until Dec. 17. 7.30 FRI.

BALLET RAMBERT  
Evenings 7.30 Sat. 2.30.

MADELINE'S 1875 1974 Sat. 7.30  
1972 Sat. 7.30 Sat. 7.30 Sat. 7.30 Sat.

THEATRE 1974 Sat. 7.30 Sat. 7.30 Sat.

## THEATRES

PHOENIX 856 8511. Evenings 7.30 Sat.  
MORNINGS 10-11.30. Mon. 7.30 Sat.  
27. 10-11.30. Mon. 7.30 Sat. 27.  
MURKIN'S WINNIE THE POOH 7.30

SHIRLEY 437 4506. Mon. 7.30 Sat.  
11.30. Sat. 10-11.30. Mon. 7.30 Sat.  
EDWARD GOREY'S THE MALE OF THE SPECIES  
7.30 Sat. 10-11.30. Mon. 7.30 Sat.  
WEDDING 211 4506. Mon. 7.30 Sat.  
ALL ENTERTAINING 5. Tues.  
RAYMOND NEVILL 2000 1974 Sat. 7.30 Sat.

## EXHIBITIONS

PHOENIX 856 8511. Evenings 7.30 Sat.  
MORNINGS 10-11.30. Mon. 7.30 Sat.  
27. 10-11.30. Mon. 7.30 Sat. 27.  
THE DANNY LA RUE SHOW 7.30 Sat.

## FESTIVAL OF EROTICA

REGENT 850 7443. Mon. 7.30 Sat.  
8.30. Wed. 7.30 Sat. 7.30 Sat.  
LET MY PEOPLE COME  
"You have to be there." It's never  
a dull moment." 7.30 Sat.

## THEATREWORLD

ROUNDHOUSE 267 2504  
REGENT 850 7443. Mon. 7.30 Sat.  
8.30. Wed. 7.30 Sat. 7.30 Sat.  
THEATREWORLD 7.30 Sat.

## EXHIBITION OF PRINTS

ROYAL COURT 7.30 1974 Sat. 7.30 Sat.

## CHRISTIE'S CONTEMPORARY ART

11 Albemarle St. London, W.1  
Original etchings and lithographs by  
HAROLD COX, RICHARD DAWSON,  
HAROLD HAZLITT AND MOORE  
9.30-10.30 Sat. 10-11.

## COLNAGHTS

14 Old Bond St. W.1. 01-5823 1953  
CENTURY 1974 Sat. 10-11.30  
MON. 7.30 Sat. 10-11.

## ENGLISH AND DUTCH

of the 18th and 19th Centuries  
at MARTIN'S 856 1343. Evens. 8.30  
Tues. 2.30 Sat. 5 & 8 Sat. 8.30  
THE MOUSETRAP 7.30 Sat.

## LE GALLERY 21

13a Grafton St. W.1. 01-452 5822  
An Exhibition of English Watercolours  
7.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat. 10-11.

## JOAN MIRÓ

51 Old Bond St. W.1. 01-452 5822  
EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS  
Until 29 November.  
Fine Early English Watercolours.

## HENRY MOORE

Complete Graphic Work 1919-1974  
The Sculpture Portfolio 1920-1974  
The Stationery Portfolio 1920-1974  
FRI. 10-11.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sun. 10-11.30  
SUSAN HENSON THE TAMING OF THE SREW

## LEADER GALLERY

13 Old Bond Street, W.1.  
IMPORTANT EXHIBITION  
including Corot and the Harpist.  
Turner, Copley, etc.

## MARSHALL GRAPHICS LTD.

17 Old Bond St. W.1. RECENT  
PAINTINGS 1974 Sat. 10-11.30  
MON. 7.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat.

## MAAS GALLERY

14 Old Bond St. W.1. 01-452 5822  
U.S.A. PAINTINGS  
MON. 7.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat.

## MASTER DRAWINGS

PRESENTED BY LOREN LOWE  
47 Albemarle St. W.1. 01-452 5822  
TUE. 10-11.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat.

## MAYOR GALLERY

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U.S.A. PAINTINGS  
MON. 7.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat.

## MOORLAND GALLERY

29 Cork St. W.1. 01-734 9691. BIRD BOOKS  
U.S.A. PAINTINGS  
MON. 7.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat.

## NATIONAL BOOK LEAGUE

7 Albemarle St. W.1. Ends 10-11.30 Sat.  
WED. 10-11.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat.

## NEW ENGLISH ART CLUB

Annual Exhibition 10-11.30 Sat.  
MON. 7.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat.

## NICHOLAS STORR

10-11.30 Sat. 10-11.30 Sat.

## PETER GORDENO

14 Old Bond St. W.1. 01-452 5822  
CINEMAS

ABC 1 & 2, Shaftesbury Ave. 852 8521  
MURDER ON THE ORIENT EXPRESS 7.30  
TUES. 10-11.30. WED. 10-11.30. THURS. 10-11.30.  
THE GARDEN OF EDEN 7.30 Sat. 10-11.30

GREENWICH 856 7755. Priv. Wed.  
R.O. Sat. 8.30. Sun. 10-11.30. Mon. 7.30

GARRICK 856 6501. Evens. 8.30 Sat.  
8.30 & 8.30. Mon. Wed. 7.30 Sat. 8.30  
"ENTERTAINERS" 7.30 Sat. 10-11.30

THEATRE UPSTAIRS 720 2554  
Open. Tower. 10-11.30. Subs. Mon.  
WED. 7.30 Sat. 10-11.30. Sun. 10-11.30.

THEATRE WORKSHOP 215 Sat. 10-11.30  
10-11.30. HICCI BRACKET &  
DRACULA

VAUDEVILLE 856 9998. Evens. 8.30  
FENELLA 856 9998. Sat. 7.30 Sat.  
ALAN AYCKBOURN'S THE MOUSETRAP  
8.30 Sat. & 8.30. Mon. Wed. 7.30 Sat.  
"BRILLIANT CHIEFS" 8.30 Sat. 10-11.30  
"COURTSHIP" 8.30 Sat. 10-11.30  
"THE GOES THE BRIDE" 8.30 Sat.  
"VERY FUNNY" 8.30 Sat.

DRURY LANE 856 8108. Evens. 8.30  
Sat. 8.30. Sun. 10-11.30. Mon. 7.30

MICHAEL PATRICK 856 8108. BRIAN VAUGHAN  
BRIAN VAUGHAN IN THE PAY-OFF

A COMEDY CROSSING DELIGHT "IT'S NOW  
AN UNUSUAL PLEASURE" Sunday Times.

CRITERION 950 3216. Evens. 8.30 Sat.  
8.30 & 8.30. Mon. Wed. 7.30 Sat.  
"THE BRILLIANT CHIEFS" 8.30 Sat.  
"COURTSHIP" 8.30 Sat. 10-11.30

"EXTRA" 8.30 Sat. 10-11.30

THEATRE UPSTAIRS 720 2554  
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BRIAN VAUGHAN IN THE PAY-OFF

A NEW MUSICAL "CRAWFORD'S ASTONISHING TALE  
OF LONDON" NO RESIDENT VISITOR SHOULD KISS" 8.30 Sat.

BIRCHWOOD 856 8108. Evens. 8.30 Sat.  
8.30 & 8.30. Mon. Wed. 7.30 Sat.  
"LIVE ON STAGE" 8.30 Sat. 10-11.30

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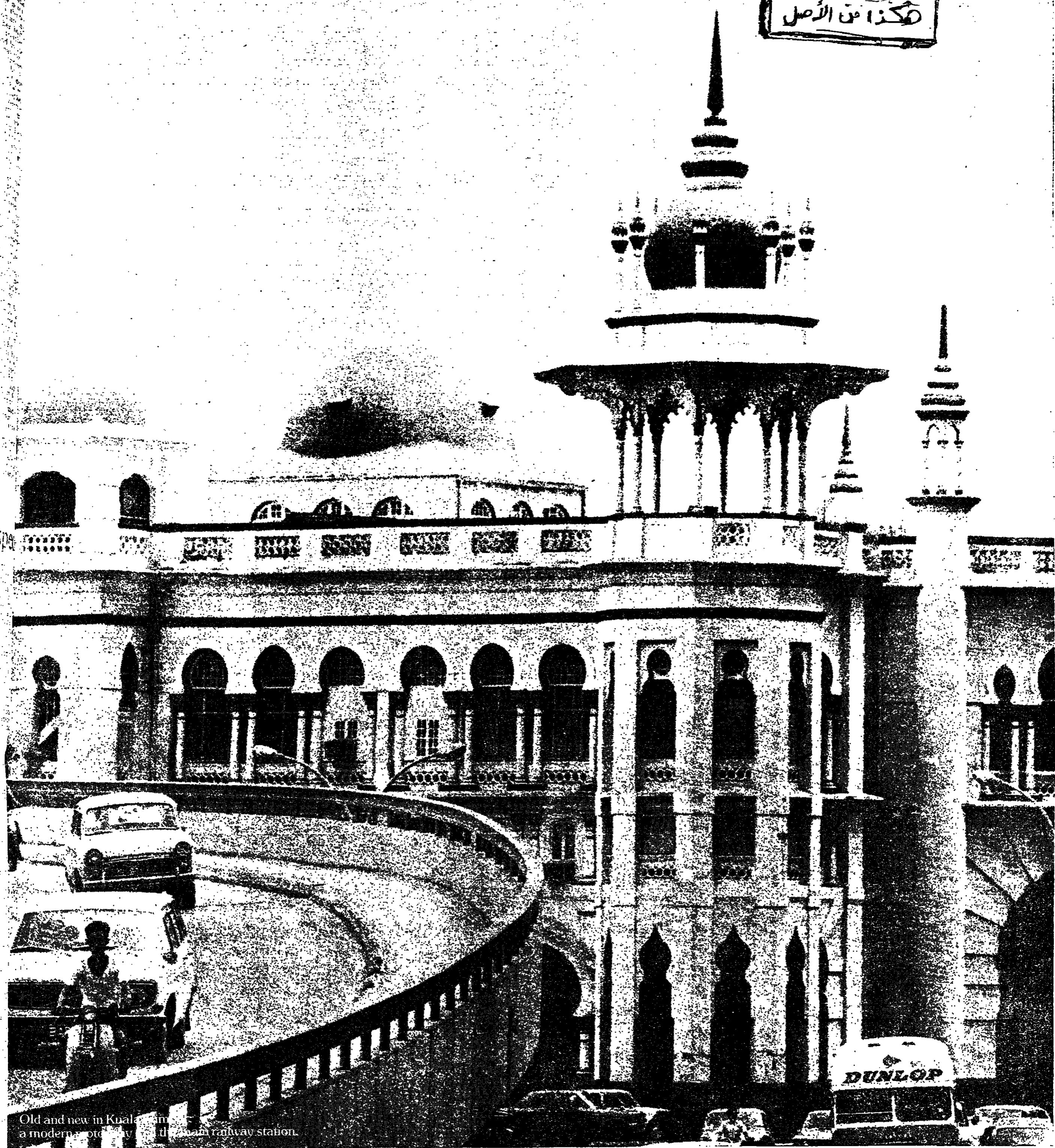
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# The Conservative Party, not the policy, has failed to please the voters

For most of the past 25 years Tory policies have on the whole been more popular than the Tory party. It is a myth that so-called "defence" has led voters to reject left-wing policies close to their hearts and to vote Conservative. The opposite has happened. Voters sympathetic to the Tory outlook and policies have voted Labour for reasons of class solidarity.

Tory policies are in themselves more in line with the ideas and wishes of the British people than are those of the Labour Party. The evidence is overwhelming that people dislike nationalization and state control. The Labour leaders do not parade their socialist zeal during elections. They parade their patriotism then; only after the votes have been cast do they slide back gratefully into sectional socialism. While nobody would claim that the spirit of merchants, adventuring or of industrial pioneers is as conspicuously alive in this country (for which governments must accept their share of the blame), people like free enterprise. It seems to them natural and right in the way that nationalization and control from Whitehall do not.

Again people want to own their own house. Of course an adequate supply of council houses is essential. But people do not want to be council tenants in perpetuity, and the Tory policy of allowing people to buy their council houses is popular.

Of course, policies must always be refined and improved, and we must develop new policies, which are consistent with the empiricism and the broadly based nature of our party, to meet new situations. Obviously the policies of the party do much to mould its image (and to some extent vice versa). Nevertheless it is not so much our policies that we should now be looking at, it is ourselves. It is the Tory party not Tory policies which has failed to please the voters.

A solely materialistic appeal is not compelling. There must be idealism and inspiration. Managers are useful, but they are not enough. No doubt Enoch Powell is right to say politicians should not be preachers. Preaching, as Harold Macmillan might have said, is the job of archbishops. Equally politicians should not be mere managers. Their place is midway between the counting house and the pulpit.

Also local Conservative associations should be much more involved in the life as opposed to merely the politics of their local communities. Some of them already are, and they, like those which are run by people who derive considerable local prestige from their non-political community activities, draw political dividends from their

status in their area. Tories in the constituency associations must show themselves intimately concerned with the hopes and fears of their less political neighbours.

More important, therefore, than the detailed working out of policies is the adoption of a new outlook, a new receptivity, and a demonstration that we understand and sympathize with the wishes and needs of every strata of our population: We must not stifle the aspirations for liberty of those who are able to look after themselves and who are anxious to increase the prosperity of the nation and themselves; and we must not spur the yearning for security of those who are less fortunate. There is little excuse for a government which has a closed mind; there is none for an opposition.

Indeed a too great immersion in immediate policy-making may hinder the adoption of this new outlook. Of course policy-making cannot be carried out by Gallup poll. We should not merely try to discover what people want at any given moment. Their wants may change, and they may be unattainable or undesirable. But there is also the opposite danger of throwing a pot of policy in the face of the public and expecting it to like it.

Moreover, with conditions changing so quickly even the best thought out policies may be inappropriate and an incubus by the time they are due to be implemented. There is a real sense in which policy can get in the way of politics. Finally, too much policy leads a government to try to do too much. The Labour Party has not become the virtually permanent governing party here like the social democratic parties in Scandinavia, because it can not stop itself messing everybody about. Unfortunately the last Conservative government also sacrificed the small "c" vote by attempting too much. We must not make the same mistake again. The Tory party is responsible for the tranquillity as well as the continuity of the nation.

Another way of discovering how the Tory party should conduct itself during the next few months or years is to look at the main issues which the country will face. These are evidently Europe, inflation, trade union power, and the defence of the rule of law and of parliamentary democracy.

The Tory commitment to Europe is stronger than ever. We have consistently opposed the referendum on constitutional grounds. But now the important thing is to wait. Firmly enough, the difference is likely to do much more damage to Mr Wilson's Government than to anybody else. And the precedent that it creates will

not haunt the Socialists far more than the Conservatives.

On inflation the line the party took during the election seems the right one. Every known weapon must be used: the control of central and local government expenditure and of the money supply, and restraint in prices and incomes. To squabble over which of these weapons should have primacy would be pointless. Anybody asked to adjudicate would surely be wise to emulate the tact of the medieval Pope who, when asked to judge between the claims of Canterbury and York, decided that while the Archbishop of York was Primate of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury was Primate of All England.

To use any of the economic weapons in isolation would impose too severe a strain on certain sections of the community, deprive the government of the consent it needs and render the strategy ineffective. Part of the art of government is to recognize that the political and social consequence of any economic policy can determine its effectiveness. In any case, the next few months will provide a lot of evidence. "Life will decide", as Lenin used to say.

Much the same is true of the trade union issue. Trade union behaviour is by any objective standard often intolerable. No baron in the fifteenth century acted with greater arrogance or with a more sublime indifference to the national interest than do, say, Mr Scargill or Mr Scanlon. Equally the great majority of people think the unions are too powerful as did the victims of the unruly magnates 500 years ago. People do not like being pushed around by trade unions any more than they like being pushed around by the government or by local authorities. But to give governments of either party the due they would never dream of inflicting on the British people the hardship and discomfort which some trade union leaders inflict without hesitation or scruple, in the same way that medieval magnates used to lay waste the countryside, destroying the livelihood of the innocent and the guilty, when something had displeased them.

Certainly people do not relish seeing the government in pawn to the trade union bosses, and Mr Healey's £10m bribe to Labour's trade union paymasters is indecently servile. Surely this money should at least be subject to the new gifts rule.

Events during the next few months will determine whether the Tories need a new trade union policy, or whether the changed economic climate will make this unnecessary. When the leader of the National Union of Mineworkers complains of communists infiltrating, and when Mr Hugh Scanlon is seen bravely breaking through a picket line under police escort, things are palpably wrong, though they used to be.

Of course we must criticize the abuse of trade union power, just as we criticize the abuse of any other power. But we are not and can not be opposed to trade unions as such.

What we have to do is to arrange the affairs of our party (and of the government when we are in power) so that he has an obligation to his constituency, to the community, to his family as well as to his union. The legitimacy of parliament

and government must be reasserted, and the primacy of trade union power dethroned. Almost the only beneficial result of the harsh economic climate of the next few years is likely to be a decline in the "legitimacy" of trade unions, as the average trade unionist comes to realize that the trade unions by their extravagant demands have, instead of protecting his interests, merely fuelled inflation and stoked unemployment.

The likely result of Labour's laissez-faire attitude to the unions and of the largely laissez-faire attitude of some of the union leaders to their members is that shop floor militancy will become increasingly independent of the official union leadership. We have already seen this happening in Scotland. Who knows? Mr Scanlon and Mr Jones may yet regret their opposition to the Industrial Relations Act.

In any event if there is to be a new trade union statute it will be reformed not so much by the need to improve industrial relations as by the imperative need to safeguard the law and preserve parliamentary democracy. If Mr Foot, that sea-green corruptible—corrupted of course not by money but by dogma and by power—legislates to increase the power of pickets so that the liberty of the subject is increasingly infringed and public order further endangered, or if he brings in a closed shop provision which damages the freedom of the press and much else besides, clearly such legislation cannot be allowed to sulley the statute book for long.

Indeed the need to preserve these essential democratic and parliamentary freedoms, that are at present threatened by the trade union bosses, and Mr Healey's £10m bribe to Labour's trade union paymasters is indecently servile. Surely this money should at least be subject to the new gifts rule.

The Wilson Government of 1964-70 was barren of achievement. Mr Wilson was still worse in opposition. In our system the leader of the opposition has a governing function. Except in Ulster, Mr Wilson systematically abused that function and systematically betrayed virtually all that he had stood for when in office. Parliamentarian democracy is in danger in Britain today. And nobody has done more to undermine it than the present Prime Minister. As the late Herbert Morrison put it, the most realistic classification of Mr Wilson is that he is a "Wilsonite".

With this to oppose, the Conservative Party cannot afford to remain self-absorbed for long. It must compose its differences, not so that it can scramble back into office through the failures of Labour but so that it can better protect our parliamentary democracy, its institutions and our freedom.

Ian Gilmore

The author, Conservative MP for Chesham and Amersham, is a member of the Shadow Cabinet and Chairman of the Conservative Research Department. Concluded: The first part of this article appeared in the issue of Friday, November 22.

Lord Chalfont

Time the world declared open war on terrorism

or counter-revolutionary in-gene is indisputably the important element. At the heart of any international a terrorist organization's capital requirement is a sophisticated system for rapid collation and dissemination of detailed and up to date information on terrorist personalities, movements methods of operation. It has at its disposal the techniques of intelligence and files of police, armed forces and intelligence organizations of member states, together with those of the United Nations and any other appropriate international organizations or alliances. The modern techniques of information collection and dissemination is would be able to monitor terrorist activities in the member states early warning of any attack. There would course, have to be effective security and counter-espionage arrangements within organization to prevent it from or attack by terrorist agents, and possibly armed "operational squads".

One of the first tasks of organization would be to set up an international code of practice to be observed by member states. This would naturally include improved procedures for security at air In too many countries considerations of passenger convenience and airline profitability are often allowed to prevail over those of security. There will also have to move towards standardization of the response to Arab mail, so that individual countries are not identifiable, terrorist organizations as "touches".

The most intractable item is likely to be that of punishment of convicted terrorists. Whatever may be the policies and attitudes of individual governments in own criminal codes, there is a strong argument for a national agreement on establishment of a maximum penalty for political terrorism. Quite apart from the deterrent effect of capital punishment, there is a maximum of political terror. It is that imprisoned terrorists are an obvious *casus belli* for their organizations, who prepared to threaten acts of violence to secure release, creating a theoretical endless chain reaction.

So far we have been particularly fortunate in the activities of international terrorism have been isolated relatively uncoordinated. It is, however, some evidence links between various revolutionary organizations. Certainly there has been a laboration between the and extremist organizations totally unconnected with Irish problem. Sporadic terrorism and assassination rapidly develop into some much more massive and it is organized. There is, in addition, a much more serious possibility. It would be unwise to put the contingency that so or later a terrorist organization will go into the nuclear weapons business. Fissile materials often inadequately protect the mechanics of weapon construction are now known; and the nuclear countries are beginning to export their technology to non-nuclear countries under an international safeguards system which is notoriously imperfect.

The phenomenon of piracy, cold-blooded and ruthless terror used as political instrument is a growing threat to international order and stability, and naturally to the survival of democratic political institutions will not be dealt with by ordinary defence mechanisms of the nation state.

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Sadly, it seemed that celebrity found difficulty in getting out of the suit. Instead, dancing with anyone, wandered round bumping into things. And I never did cover who he was. The only offer was that he had been Cheltenham College in England so I expect he was a Thai.

It seemed that it could go down hill from that point. I made my excuses to the paper-mâché kangaroo, and left.

Michael Kayne, president of the Hong Kong-based Sun Bottles Society, has objected my recent remark that Chinese do not make sun bottles any more. On the contrary, he says, the market is continuously expanding and it Chinese have a whole floor one Peking factory given over the manufacture of sun bottles, mostly for collector snuff boxes in the regions inhabited by China's national minorities.

Lessons to guide Belgrade government along the road between the difficult and the delicate

## Yugoslavs can now change direction without braking

President Tito of Yugoslavia, whose Foreign Minister, Mr Milos Minic, is in London this week, will be 83 on May 25 next year. As the most recent proof of Yugoslavia's abiding determination to remain non-aligned, the President has just completed visits to Denmark, a member of Nato, and to East Germany, a member of the Warsaw Pact.

It seems he will still guide Yugoslavia for some years yet, but naturally the President and the men around him have been considering how the transition can be made to a time when the President's authority is no longer there to retrieve a crisis—in a country, moreover, whose situation has been, ever since the split with Stalin in 1948, difficult and delicate. At that time the Yugoslav leaders being

subjected to the full weight of Stalinism were passionately determined to assert their independence, but as Marxists they were also suspicious of the capitalistic West.

The basic problem in Yugoslavia, was, therefore—and is—how to maintain adequate central control for efficient government while avoiding Stalinist rigidity, against, moreover, the constitutional background of a country which is a federation of six republics. Probably President Tito's finest achievement has been to prevent the strong national feelings of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins from splitting his country apart.

It cannot be said, however, that Yugoslavia has always had a smooth ride. This is largely due to two Yugoslav characteristics—a readiness to change due to two Yugoslav characteristics—a readiness to change

and a tendency, once a policy is accepted, to carry it to extremes. The split with Stalin was followed by a re-orientation in which Khrushchev visited Belgrade in 1955 and accepted Yugoslavia's right to make her own individual way to socialism. Then after a period of economic stagnation Yugoslavia switched to decentralization and self-management in factories. Important economic decisions continued, however, to be taken in Belgrade.

The republics then demanded more responsibility, and surprisingly got it, including even the abolition of state ownership of all forms of production and the re-introduction of a market economy. When the more hard-line communists opposed this, Vice-President Rankovic, who commanded the political police, was dismissed, and the political police were largely abolished.

There followed a period of discipline; some rehabilitation

of the political police; and pressures upon the press, radio and judiciary, but at this point in both Serbia and Croatia there appeared strong opposition to a new slide towards centralization. Mr Stane Dolanc, the Secretary of the Executive Bureau of the Praesidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, who had been reimposing discipline, summed up the Government's policy in moderate terms, emphasizing the dangers of liberalism and dogmatism equally, and Mr Edvard Kardelj, who as deputy Chairman of the Party, is widely regarded as most probably the immediate successor to the chairmanship once President Tito vacates it, spoke out against the dangers of authoritarianism. By the spring of this year, therefore, it appeared that Yugoslavia was now learning to change course without any sudden, dramatic braking of the system.

A. M. Rendell

## The Times Diary

### Savin' a sheila among the kangaroos

Thailand chapter of the Pacific Area Travel Association, which was

subjected to the full weight of

President Tito against "liberalism", a market economy was then pursued with fewer controls than in any capitalist country, and the six republican governments looked like turning the one-party into a six-party state. The Nationalist Communists in the Croat republican government tried to drive their relatively advanced industrialized economy forward, heedless of the rest of the country, until President Tito in 1971 slammed on the brakes, threatening the use of the army against them if necessary.

President Tito then argued that too much liberalism in Yugoslavia had led to nationalism and that the Communist Party must be made a more unifying force, after which he turned in 1972 upon the liberalizing leaders in Serbia.

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peared that Yugoslavia was now

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braking of the system.

They said: "Well we need

somebody five foot ten and with

a sense of humour to dress in a

kangaroo suit." I said no

thanks."

Toni and I met in the lobby at the appointed hour. She was wearing a fetching long red silk dress which had been made for her here in Bangkok. I was in my blue lightweight suit bought off the peg from Bon Marche in Brixton. I looked up at her and grinned. We made an odd couple.

By now her story was already

shaking shape in her imagination. Spurting the attentions of the taxi to the hotel forecourt, she marched me into the street and flagged down a passing

motor-cycle rickshaw. We ploughed through the road, absorbing much of the city's

dust and noise in our open car-

riage, and arrived at the door of a rather grand hotel.

It was a buffet dinner and on

invitation we streamed out to

join the scrum for food. Toni

said that this part of it was

authentic enough, but not the

food.

"If it was a real Australian

party", she said, "it would be

pie and peas and ketchup with



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## PROGRESS IN VLADIVOSTOK

President Ford and Mr Brezhnev agreed to make another attempt to limit the arms race at a strategic level. If, as a result, the negotiators come up with an agreement that works and is agreed to by both parties, then the second meeting will turn out to be a very important landmark. Until then it is reasonable to withhold judgment. The first agreement in 1972 aroused fears that have not been settled. Moreover, arms talks are only one thread—though an vital one—in the web of elements on mutual restraint that are supposed to constitute a new relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States. In many areas, particularly in the Middle East, the web is under severe strain. If it is to be a way at one point it is liable to be a way at others too. So it is not to be taken in isolation.

What the Vladivostok agreement amounts to is an agreement on guidelines for negotiations at the strategic arms limitation talks. This does at least give the world something to look forward to. If it contains no specific timetable it does suggest that there has been some meeting of minds on need to avoid a new and more dangerous and expensive round of arms race. "We are in the ball-park," said Dr Kissinger, and this ought to give him at least the very least it should be possible to perpetuate the provisions of the 1972 agreement on number of missiles deployed on each side. But if this is to be any real meaning it must, as Vladivostok announcement states, extend to cover multiple warheads, for it is the development of this which has made first Salt agreement out of date sooner than expected.

The Soviet Union has been testing very large missiles with multiple warheads which look to western experts like part of an attempt to achieve first-strike capability—that is, the ability to knock out the entire retaliatory armament of the United States at a blow. In fact, if the Russians do this is not the only problem. The Soviet Union has been testing very large missiles with multiple warheads which look to western experts like part of an attempt to achieve first-strike capability—that is, the ability to knock out the entire retaliatory armament of the United States at a blow. In fact, if the Russians do this is not the only problem.

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which they have been testing they could emerge with as many as 7,000 separately targeted warheads in the megaton range, compared with the Americans' 2,000. The disparity in terms of throw-weight would be even greater, and even this does not take into account the build-up of submarine-launched missiles.

This would seriously threaten the balance of terror on which detente rests. The Americans could keep ahead in the race if they put their minds to it but the situation would be far more dangerous if either side thought it had a chance of knocking out the other's retaliatory forces and getting away with it. More important still, if the Russians appeared to be making a bid for that sort of capability it would destroy one of the basic political assumptions of detente, which is that although the Russians will bargain as hard as they can and exploit every advantage to the full they do basically accept the need for parity based primarily on the ability of each side to retaliate after an attack.

The possibility that this doctrine is not after all fully accepted in Moscow has led the Americans to convey a number of urgent warning signals to the Soviet Union. One of these was the new targeting doctrine announced by Mr Schlesinger, the Defence Secretary, in January, which indicated that the United States had the option of selectively destroying Russian missile sites rather than suicidally obliterating cities. The United States has also continued work on the advanced Trident submarine-launched missile, has displayed the new B-1 bomber, and has tested a missile launched from an aircraft. In advanced technology it is still probably better prepared than the Soviet Union for an all-out arms race.

But it does not want one. The question is whether the Russians want one. There are two broad interpretations of Russian actions. One is that they are determined to achieve total superiority and will use arms agreements only as a way of gaining time or advantage. The other is more complex and probably more likely. It is that Russian

policy-making is slow, imitative, uncoordinated, and divided. The huge build-up in missiles and in the navy began in the 1960s, at least partly in response to American superiority in this field. Like a huge locomotive it is difficult to stop, and probably there are military men who do not want to stop, for strong interests inevitably accumulate around anything as large, expensive, and exciting.

Soviet politicians may also be ambivalent. Like many western politicians they probably do not understand the more arcane language of American defence specialists, and they are not helped by the fact that the Soviet Union military establishment is relatively isolated from civilian planners. Even at the negotiating table Soviet delegations reveal a surprising gulf between the civilians and the military. Top leaders may therefore be susceptible to military arguments that the Soviet Union still lags behind the Americans, that it must catch up before reaching agreements, and that in any case political bargaining power is always improved if backed by military strength. The same arguments are, after all, not unfamiliar in the west.

It is still a problem in an area of such intense mutual suspicion to know who is acting and who is reacting—or who is just trying something on. But one thing must be made very clear. Detente is indivisible. Russian intentions must be tested not only in Salt but in the Middle East, in central Europe, and in the food and energy crises. There is an obvious interaction in all these areas, and scepticism is growing in the United States and elsewhere about whether the Soviet Union is really interested in the mutual restraints and areas of cooperation that were being mapped out a couple of years ago. The Vladivostok agreement is an encouraging sign that progress is still possible and that some of the hesitations may have been caused by turmoil in Washington. But the negotiations which now follow from the agreement will be watched closely for much more than what they achieve in terms of nuclear hardware.

Meanwhile the probable cost of the tunnel has risen from an estimated £360m in the Government's Green Paper last year to £1,200m to £1,500m in the light of likely inflation and interest charges; and of the high speed rail link to London to £500m or more. The latter would have to be financed entirely by the Treasury, and it may be difficult to persuade MPs, in times when all kinds of much-needed projects are having to be shelved, that this is the best way to spend such a sum, especially when so many along the route are as opposed to it. As to the inflated cost of the tunnel, the promoters argue that that would not matter too much provided it were reflected in inflated prices thereafter. But if in the light of Cairncross's updated and impartial traffic forecasts it appeared that government guarantees would be invoked to meet the debt charges, the Government may well decide to abandon the project? That even erstwhile supporters are becoming suspicious. And rightly so.

openly and always behind the scenes, there will be a continuation of the struggle for power between the Government, founded as it must be on the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the national executive committee, which draws its authority from the mass conference. For the joint meeting last Friday between the Cabinet and the national executive committee, above all on the question of power relationships, nothing was decided and could not conceivably settle anything.

On the opening day the ballot for 25 members of the NEC and the party treasurer (the party leader and deputy party leader serve ex officio) may be confidently expected to reflect the rise and fall in the party fortunes of those members of the Government who have preferred Transport House to the Cabinet room as their source of influence and those who, like Mr Callaghan, accept the purist doctrine of ministerial collective responsibility. Mr Benn and Mrs Joan Lestor, who challenged the doctrine, are standing for re-election in the constituency section, and the third member of the group, Mrs Judith Hart, runs in the women's section. Mr Callaghan himself is under strong pressure from the left-wing Mr Norman Atkinson for the party treasurer.

As general secretary, Mr Ron Hayward loses no opportunity to emphasize, as even Morgan Phillips did not in the late Hugh Gaitskell's time as party leader, that it is his responsibility so to see that the NEC as custodian of conference decisions is not flouted by the Government as a whole or by any particular Labour Minister. It was Mr Hayward who summoned, at 10 Downing Street, the joint meeting between Cabinet and NEC. He followed that up by militantly re-publishing his "job specification", or the extended terms of reference of the general secretary's appointment, and by making a speech on his enlarged role to the Oxford University Labour Club on Tuesday. Mr Hayward, and the NEC, are empire builders.

There is nothing necessarily exceptional in any of that. All Governments and parliamentary parties have to reflect their mass parties, and would be grievously at fault if they did not. But the construction of the Labour Party makes Labour leaders and Labour Government particularly vulnerable to party pressures in ways that might well conflict with the national interest and the British Constitution. That is why this week's struggle for mastery inside the Labour Party will need careful watching.

## The murders in Birmingham

From Mr A. V. Cottam

Sir, Most people in this country are, I believe, content that the death penalty has been abolished for specific murder. Random multiple murder of people who by no stretch of imagination have done or wished harm to the killers is a very different matter. Men who do not want to stop, for strong interests inevitably accumulate around anything as large, expensive, and exciting.

The acts of indiscriminate murder by bombing or shooting in the United Kingdom are as against the Queen's person and are acts of treason for which the penalty is death. Let this be known and let those responsible be hunted down, tried and executed.

Let the IRA have its martyrs and let it have them, if necessary until there is not one left in its ranks to celebrate them. There is no standard in the conduct of human affairs that can condone an evil of this magnitude and society has a right and duty to despatch these murderous men and women out of this place.

Yours faithfully,

A. V. COTTAM,

10 Burnham Close,

Windsor,

Berkshire,

November 21.

From Mr J. A. Ainsworth

Sir, How much longer must it be before we realize that in the case of murder as in other crimes the punishment should fit the crime?

There is only one punishment that fits this crime.

Yours faithfully,

J. A. AINSWORTH,

6 The Chase,

Eastcote, Pinner,

Middlesex,

November 22.

From Mr Stephen Corrin

Sir, I watched with horrified fascination as Mr David O'Connell, leader of the Provisional IRA, answered the fearlessly challenging questions put to him by Mary Holland on *Weekend World* last Sunday. Mr O'Connell professed to be as humane and as considerate of human life as the rest of us. And indeed there was a fanatic reasonableness in all his replies which made sense once his basic premise was accepted, viz that the British Government should state its intention of a phased withdrawal from Northern Ireland.

Would it be incredibly naive to suggest that Mr O'Connell be invited to sit at the bedside of one of the horrifically maimed victims of last night's Birmingham bombs, say, the teenage girl who was blinded in both eyes and lost a leg? This may not have the effect of making him change his policy but it might well cause him to alter his methods of achieving it.

Yours sincerely,

STEPHEN CORRIN,

10 Russell Gardens, NW11,

November 22.

## Sentenced for life

From Mr R. Edey

Sir, You report that the girl found guilty of the M62 coach explosion was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment and received concurrent life sentences on each of the 12 murder charges. This is quite incorrect as the position of sentencing was the other way round, and Judith Theresa Ward was sentenced to life sentences on each of the 12 murder charges and 30 years' imprisonment to run concurrently for other offences.

The sentence for murder is a mandatory life sentence. The judge has the right to recommend a minimum term which he thinks the convicted murderer should serve.

In the Ward case the trial judge thought the offences were so heinous that no figure in terms of years of imprisonment could be put on that would be appropriate to their gravity.

It is a common fallacy on the part of the media to suggest that the sentence for murder is certainly shifted markedly in favour of the condemned. It means imprisonment for life unless the Home Secretary of the day decides to release the convicted murderer, and thereafter he or she is out on licence and liable to recall to prison at any time. Never again is the convicted murderer a free person.

It is a great pity that the press does not make this clear because if the debate over capital punishment was to start all over again, it should not do so on the basis of a false premise fostered by the media. Capital punishment was in effect abolished some 17 years ago, and were executed each year, a very small number of those convicted of murder since 1957 would have been executed. I have no doubt in my mind that some of those convicted in Home Secretary will ever consider it consistent with their natural life or at least until they are very old indeed.

The average length of time served by a murderer in prison does not take account of these cases and it should be made clear that some murderers will serve the rest of their lives incarcerated in prison as a result of the mandatory life sentence which is the only sentence for murder.

Yours faithfully,

R. EDEY,

69 Eaton Avenue,

Swiss Cottage, NW3.

November 21.

## PRIA not RSVP

From Colonel J. W. H. Maskey

Sir, Lord Plaist's problem is simply resolved (November 21). I always cross through "RSVP" on the invitations I send out and write "Regrets only". This relieves the recipient of the bother of accepting and at the same time pays him the compliment of assuming he "regrets he is unable to attend".

Yours faithfully,

JAMES MASKEY,

16 Sackville Lane,

East Grinstead,

Sussex.

November 21.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## The crisis in the stock market

From Mr R. H. Grierson

Sir, Your leading article yesterday ("The crisis in the stock market") is a timely reminder that a condition of generalization of the kind we are now experiencing in the business life of this country is a composite phenomenon for which no single factor can entirely be held to blame; and it is refreshing for once to read an analysis of this situation which does not seek to make the brokers and bankers who operate the City's complex capital-raising machinery the principal scapegoats for all that has gone wrong.

This poses a dilemma. For industry is faced with exactly the same uncertainties as everyone else and its coordinates to have been swept away. Small wonder that it is not keen to raise expensive funds. Yet a way ought to be found by all concerned—and, let us sincerely hope, without any official direction—to ensure not only that new institutional funds move both into primary and secondary markets at levels which reflect realities but also that as and when the present troubles subside (and provided they do not seek to make the capitalistic system which distinguishes them even more) new issues reflect the real values which are rightly put it, to real values and to earning power.

The trouble is that this transition from a dream-world to the real world takes time and investment managers are not alone in finding it a difficult process. Nor is the problem confined to United Kingdom institutions or indeed just to institutions; it confronts all investors, private as well as institutional, everywhere. What makes the transition particularly hard is that it occurs at a moment when all the coordinates by which values are normally judged appear to have been swept away by a landslide, so that even when institutional managers are ready to proceed on new criteria they often find themselves unable to judge whether these criteria are in fact being met. (How, for instance, is one to be sure that dividends or their cover will be maintained in these difficult times or that today's yield gap between equities and gilts will

last for more than a day or two?)

But if institutions have to be realistic about values, so has industry. If it is unwilling to raise new equity funds on realistic terms, the institutions can only show their faith symbolically by buying existing securities (which involves someone else doing the reverse); and if as a result of such dealings the market were then to move up to a level which the economic situation no longer justified, the prospect for raising new capital would once again be severely prejudiced.

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last for more than a day or two?)





## Computer bureaux worth £56m for BSC

By Kenneth Owen  
Technology Correspondent

British Steel Corporation expects to spend about £56m on computers over the next seven years, in a large scale programme designed to standardize administrative and accounting systems and extend the use of computers for production planning and control.

Data processing concerned with administrative, accounting and commercial order handling systems will be concentrated on four computer bureaux. These will be located at Teesside, Sheffield, Corby and Port Talbot.

The computer centres for production planning and control will be based at 10 major steel plants. These will assist with the provision of materials and the scheduling of the plant, as well as the tracking and progress of orders.

Online computers, which control the steelmaking and rolling processes will be integrated with the new system. As well as the four production bureaux, a further two computer centres will handle bureaux-type work.

## UK consultancy deal with India

Spring Steel Productions, of London, is to be the consultant for a major precision spring manufacturing facility in New Delhi, the first development of its type in India. Spring Steel has signed a five-year collaboration agreement with Hindustan Dealers as part of a capital project valued at more than 8m rupees (about £500,000).

## Rekindling nuclear power hopes in Midlands

Despite one very stormy and unsuccessful attempt to site a nuclear power station at Stourport-on-Severn near the industrial West Midlands, the Electricity Generating Board has not given up hope of a nuclear station being built in the region.

Mr Gill Blackman, Midland regional director of generation, recently told a large gathering of power station staff: "The generating board will be putting in a number of SGRWRs (Steam Generating Heavy Water Reactors) and I very much hope that one can be built in the Midlands. I think it is a pity we do not already have a nuclear site."

He added that one day public opinion would be more amenable to the idea of a nuclear power station that did not have to be banished to the remote parts of the coastline. However, in view of the widespread opposition to the Stourport proposal for four years ago and the eventual refusal of the Nuclear Inspectorate to license the site, there are grounds for believing that Mr Blackman's recent statement was intended more as a morale

## 200,000 US car workers will tighten belts as sales slump bites

By Edward Townsend

A grim Christmas is ahead for almost 200,000 North American motor industry workers whose jobs have been affected by the dramatic decline in car sales. In the first 10 days of this month, sales fell 38 per cent from a year earlier.

General Motors, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors have all put into operation mass lay-off programmes while reports from Detroit suggest that the industry is heading for its worst year since the recession of 1958.

The state of the world car market is also reflected in Europe and thousands of workers in Germany and Italy have been laid off or restricted to short-time working.

Only the British car industry has managed to avoid lay-offs in the face of the 25 per cent dip in new car registrations, partly due to the industry's own stoppages.

and the general disruption earlier in the year. Even so, car making in Britain has hardly been a profitable business this year.

The American scene remains the gloomiest. For the first time in the current downturn, GM is planning to temporarily close some of its big-car assembly plants. Those producing small cars were the first to be affected.

With GM sales depressed by 43 per cent over last November, the company has now decided to shut nine of its 22 United States plants for up to two weeks next month and lay off 30,000 workers. The move will cut deeply into GM's already much smaller four-quarter production.

Ford is to lay off 32,475 workers for varying periods at 11 of its 22 plants over the next four months. About 3,000 white collar workers will be without

jobs indefinitely at the end of the month, said the company, and car and truck production cut by 127,000 units.

Chrysler has instituted a 55 per cent temporary cut in its white collar work force. About 21,000 workers and managers will be affected from next month while the company is demanding that some middle management employees take the remainder of their 1974 holiday and part of next year's entitlement during the same period.

The smaller American Motors said it was laying off 8,000 workers from December 3.

The United States car companies, now faced with vast quantities of unsold vehicles amounting to well over three months' supply, have begun to pare back their production forecasts for the 1975 model year and Detroit sources say that the latest labour cutbacks certainly will not be the last.

## Spanish company strikes new crude oil deposits on assigned site in Algeria

From Harry Delbelus  
Madrid, November 24

A Spanish company has struck oil in Algeria, according to weekend reports published in Madrid.

The Madrid evening newspaper *Informaciones* has said that Hispanoil, in partnership with the state-owned Algerian company, Sonatrach, has found oil at one of the sites assigned to Hispanoil by the Algerian government about a year ago. "The find is apparently quite important," the newspaper

Institute for Industry. Hispanoil owns 49 per cent of the venture in Algeria. The discovery, if confirmed, represents the first Spanish strike of oil in Algeria.

The same newspaper has also reported that Hispanoil had signed an agreement with the government of Malta to search for petroleum off the island's southern coast. Hispanoil's prospecting concessions reportedly cover 1,042 square kilometres.

Hispanoil is also reportedly studying the possibility of searching for oil in the Philippines after receiving assurances from the Philippine government that "maximum facilities" would be

granted to the Spanish firm. In other news about Guinean operations, sources close to the foreign ministry denied in Madrid today that there was any deal under consideration to sell *Fasfas* Sura, INI's wholly-owned subsidiary which exploits the world's richest phosphate deposits in the disputed Spanish colonial territory of the Sahara.

New British oil hope: The Government is awaiting a report on the prospect of huge new oil deposits in the south Atlantic around Britain's Falklands islands colony. Oil firms have shown an interest in the possibilities, which could boost Britain's North Sea oil reserves.

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## Industry in the regions

booster for the board's employees than as a hint of things to come.

It is not difficult to understand why this should be necessary. In the massive re-equipment programme of the 1960s the Midlands received the lion's share of new power stations. Today it provides one third of the country's total generating capacity. That is sufficient to meet the electricity needs of the heavily industrialised region and still have enough left over to export power to the south-east.

But 96 per cent of Midland power stations are coal-fired. They were built along the banks of the Trent especially to be near the huge coalfields of the east and west Midlands. Now, with the next phase of the board's expansion based on oil-fired and nuclear power stations the Midlands like the rest of the country are left out. Simple economics

dictate that oil-fired stations should be near the coast to take advantage of oil refineries and North Sea or Celsi oil. And with the Nuclear Inspectorate still playing safe by insisting on remote sitings for nuclear stations the Midlands is a poor gamble.

And that is an unacceptable situation to Midland generating men. They have become too accustomed to being the pace-setter of the board's five regions to be passed over without a fight.

The present nuclear programme calls for 4,000 megawatts over four years. More than half of that is destined for Sizewell in Suffolk, leaving one nuclear site still to be chosen. Not even the most ardent advocates of a Midland site expects it to come into the region.

But the abortive Stourport project for a 1,300 MW Advanced Gas Cooled Reactor

taught local generating men that you need years rather than months to till the ground before there is even the vaguest possibility of Midlanders accepting a nuclear power station on their doorstep. But they could be ready for second phase SGRWRs.

Sizewell will have to be built and operated without a blemish on its safety record before a nuclear station on the Severn or the Trent can be entertained, and so on.

An even more enterprising development is the news that the Midlands Electricity Board is exploring the possibility of running its own power stations to supplement those of the CECB. Mr Cyril Wickstead, the MEB's deputy chairman, revealed recently that his board was pursuing a number of such projects, mainly connected with new towns or similar large developments. These pointed to total energy schemes, with town heating being provided by the waste heat from generating stations of 15 to 20 megawatts.

Clifford Webb

Nevertheless, results to date demonstrate a need to go to grips with consumer needs. Supplements need to be tried out for flavour and taste, with blends designed to meet their requirements, but then studied for tar levels, smoke behaviour, and so on.

While Imperial is to test smokers' reaction to cigarettes containing up to 50 per cent of substitute materials, Gallaher seems likely to concentrate its research on a 25 per cent ratio.

Both NSM and Cyrel are made from modified cellulose with wood pulp as the basic raw material. Present prices for supplies are not much below tobacco, but production has yet to move out of the pilot plant.

Low tar cigarettes have only secured 6 per cent of the market, so the acceptability of cigarettes with less flavour, or new taste characteristics, needs to be identified with some precision.

## Gallaher tests leaf substitute on smokers

By Our Industrial Editor  
Gallaher, Britain's second largest tobacco manufacturer, is now preparing to undertake carefully-controlled consumer acceptability tests among 3,300 cigarette smokers on sample products containing leaf substitutes.

Agreement has been reached with the Government-appointed Hunter Committee, which is advising Whitehall on sample products for tobacco supplements, for the company to test Cyrel, supplied by the Celanese Corporation of America. Testing may also cover New Smoking Material, developed by ICI and Imperial Tobacco (which has already received Hunter clearance for limited research into smokers' reactions).

Research and development experts within Gallaher are at pains to stress that they need to know far more about supplements and, while consumer tests are to be carried out, extensive research on biological activity, smoke chemistry, toxicology, and other aspects continues.

Hunter controls on human exposure to samples mean a slow pace of work, but it is felt that public confidence in research data will be enhanced.

Gallaher has already entered into a provisional supply contract with Celanese, with whom it is sharing a £2.5m research and development programme along with Carreras Rothmans. However, it has taken the precaution of evaluating the rival British-made material, which has slightly different characteristics to the more tobacco-like American product.

Meanwhile, strong pressures of an economic character are building up on cigarette manufacturers to raise their prices. The rising cost and emerging shortages of leaf are bringing a new dimension to work on supplements which has been much concerned with evaluating the safety of the materials. However, research directors are insistent that the quality of their work must not suffer.

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## Investment fund plan by Swedes

Washington, Nov 24.—Sweden is expected to approve soon a mandatory scheme requiring larger companies to put 15 per cent of their 1974 pre-tax profits in special investment funds.

Sweden has had such special funds in the past, but they have been "voluntary".

Mr Ingemund Bengtsson, Sweden's Minister of Labour, said that these special investment funds could be used by companies, after consultation with appropriate government agencies, for investments in buildings and machinery and for "stockpiling" production during a period of economic recession.

The aim was to control company investments to match the business cycle and to avoid worker lay-offs when sales were low, he said.

Mr Bengtsson was in Washington to meet United States labour leaders and government officials.

In Sweden, he said, most companies already were obliged to set aside 20 per cent of their profits in special "working" funds, used to finance industrial safety programmes, worker canteens and other facilities, were required for companies with annual profits equivalent to \$25,000 (just over £10,000) or more.

The new special investment funds, he explained, would be required for companies with profits of \$250,000 or more in 1974.

On other matters, Mr Bengtsson said Sweden had about 230,000 "guest workers"—60 per cent of them from Finland.

Foreign workers in Sweden, he said, were entitled to all the benefits that native Swedes got. In 1976, he said, foreign workers also would be permitted to vote in municipal elections.—AP Wire.

## Escort becomes top Ford seller

Ford Escort cars launched six years ago, can be seen today as the most successful British Ford model.

At Ford's Halewood plant, near Liverpool, the 1,288,975th British-built Escort will come off the assembly line, breaking the production record for a single Ford model previously held by the Anglia.

A Ford spokesman said worldwide production of Escorts exceeded two million by June.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Withdrawal from Meriden a commonsense decision

From Mr H. W. Lewis  
Sir, If Mr Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for Industry, has decided to withdraw government backing for a workers' cooperative to buy and operate the Triumph motor cycle works at Meriden, as reported in your columns on November 13, it is the first commonsense decision to be made in the political field since Norton Villiers Triumph was set up some 18 months ago.

The NVT chairman, Mr Dennis Poore, has terms of reference when accepting a government loan of £4.8m under the Industry Act to develop a commercially sound production unit. It was essential to close the Meriden plant. The alternative was to carry on in the former BSA fashion and lose about £3m a year.

Mr Lapworth is probably a most able trade union official but by my reckoning he has no knowledge of requirements in the motor cycle industry. His attempt to discredit Mr Poore is irresponsible.

He is right, though, to suggest an independent inquiry. It is needed to expose the political aspects of the Meriden dispute. Then Mr Benn might be finally dissuaded from wasting taxpayers' money on a dead-duck cooperative and from his latest flight of profligacy—taking NVT into public ownership.

Yours faithfully,  
H. W. LEWIS,  
111 Drewvale Road,  
London SW16.

November 18.

### Hurrah for the £50,000 a year man

From Mr C. W. Wells  
Sir, To date the size of the gross salaries paid to senior executives has been as a red rag to a bull as far as the trade unions and certain others are concerned.

In view of our present economic difficulties, may I suggest a different approach. Rather than castigate an individual on his salary, congratulate him on his tax charge. For example:

Mr A has a salary of £50,000. Mr A pays tax of £35,000 pa—Hurrah!

If this attitude can be fostered, we have an immediate reclassification of the working population. The salt of the earth ceases to be the wage earner, who refuses overtime because he has more or less enough for his needs and, if he worked any

more, would go into a higher bracket.

It becomes the entrepreneur or manager who earns (and I emphasise the word "earns") profit from his activities, or receives a high salary as his emolument.

One would hope that even those with the lowest IQ among our rulers and your readers, have realised that tax comes from profits and earnings and not from thin air.

The £50,000 a man earner is in this country. He should be cosseted and pampered, and not driven abroad to pay tax to some other more grateful government.

Ought not some legal steps be taken to make such deliberate waste an offence.

M. F. CULHANE,  
Southbank,  
Chase Lane,  
Haslemere, Surrey.

## LONDON & MONTROSE

### INVESTMENT TRUST LIMITED

Secretary: Fleming & Murray

#### Three year summary of results

Year ended 30th Sept.	Gross Revenue £'000	Ordinary shares Earned per share	Ordinary Paid per share	Gross Assets (less current liabilities) £'000	Net Assets Ord. share £'000
1972	590	2.79p	2.60p	21,644	208p
1973	617	3.18p	3.06p	21,213	203p
1974	722	4.02p	3.65p	10,584	101p

The twenty largest holdings, detailed in the Report on Accounts, equal 29.97 per cent of the portfolio.

In his statement the chairman, SIR REGINALD WILSON, said that for the current year: "We expect that a dividend at the increased rate of 3.65 pence per ordinary share will again be paid."

BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

## How the oil companies are being squeezed

parison with those on the oil stock prices in might appear to be disastrous this side of idiom—abominable. However, industry fears of a very inexorable squeeze may mean that are not yet taking all out.

is serious speculation that an international oil major may go to before OPEC producers' upper governments will seek the Government's part in its North Sea operation for a cash in-

dering that the very of the oil companies, particularly those operating within Europe, is threatened. The London market's attitude becomes comprehensible when to that of Wall

United States domestic market is after all relatively price controls, so if the oil is rising at least the price ceiling is not coming to meet it. This too, why Wall Street can domestic oil companies standard Indiana (historic as high fliers on the of their Alaskan in- while these appear to be for nothing as far as BP concerned.

the prospective profits BP's Alaskan oil (which mainly via Sohio) are based on a fairly modest

option of 40 cents a barrel they are worth around 150p (W. Green's estimate) one-thirds of the present price of 226p. Add 50p for the remaining 150p (W. Green's estimate) the new estimate of BP's

Sea worth, and the security crude the group has Middle East looks to be virtually nothing.

However, is not the as the markets recognise BP at just under times historic earnings "Shell" at around two and half times, while Exxon at a rating of 51 and one of 41 on Wall

"hell" made the point at end of its third quarter the oil trading margin had narrowed to around \$1 a barrel, of which 50 cents was profit needed to replace at prices then ruling.

What is more alarming is the OPEC states have unilaterally decided to raise crude

by some 40 cents a barrel a formula tied to the inflation in a basket of commodities.

in a situation of high consumer resistance to oil prices, not to mention price controls, the oil companies' chances of maintaining anything like a real operating margin look increasingly remote.

the oil majors receive scant pathy at home for their stock profits and cash flows reflecting a squeeze on oil prices tend to blur the underlying situation they are objects of antagonism in the OPEC.

Some of the exporting countries claim that the countries are making \$2-\$4 profit per barrel. This, as all says, arises from a conception about the average cost of crude (averaged as equity and participation rates) and the fact that companies base their invoicing on average. It is the sort of serious misconception that lies against any assumption oil shares are cheap yet

through a European take-over founded 18 months ago and it then bought Crittall-Hope from Mr Jim Slater.

Critics could not grasp the industrial reasoning, wondered whether a bigger interest in engineering was timely, and observed the dilution of annual earnings at share from 9.5p to 7.2p, which the Crittall terms implied. These also meant that Norcor had to raise its gearing to a time when this was frowned on.

Norcros now answers its critics with a report for the half year to September 29, a forecast of the full year in December 2, and a reassuring explanation of why it wants borrowing powers raised from £25.5m to £36.9m. This is purely precautionary, to keep pace with inflation.

The report suggests that the group is heading for pre-tax profits of around 29.5m this year against a pro-forma £6.78m for the year to last March, including Crittall in both cases. If so, earnings will be about 10p a share and total gross dividend of 4.47p a share against 3.4p is promised.

On this basis the shares at 25p yield 16.9 per cent, sell at around 23 times earnings and are only just above the 25p par value. Book net assets will probably rise this year from 46p to 50p.

The weak spots are Hygena in kitchen equipment where profits have crashed, and in one market overseas, France, which continues sticky.

But Hygena output has been cut and the Worcester freehold factory put up for sale. The group looks reasonably strong in engineering, with order books for some three years long. Air conditioning has some big orders from British Rail; and the printing and packaging business still seems to be growing.

Norcros draws 23 per cent of profits from overseas, and the key Nigerian, Malaysian and Canadian markets are all bolstered by earnings from oil and other commodities. The Crittall window business has turned round from losses to modest profits and double glazing is benefiting from thermal insulation demand.

At this stage it looks as though the worst that might happen to Norcros is a 1975 profits standstill. However, the shares are unlikely to outperform the market.

**Interim: 1974**  
Capitalization: £11.2m  
Sales: £58.6m\*  
Pre-tax profits: £4.3m\*  
Dividend gross: 1.49p (1.4p)\*  
\*No comparative figures available.

**Dollar premium**

**Factors behind present rate**

Midway through last week the dollar premium reached an all-time high at 84 per cent. Even adjusting for devaluation since the rate on which the official premium was to be calculated was set at \$2.60 to the pound, on Wednesday morning investors were prepared to put up more than ever before for the privilege of having their money employed outside the United Kingdom.

They were paying an effective premium of 65 per cent. But such enthusiasm—or maybe it was despair—did not last long; and with the official rate down to 79.80 per cent on Friday the effective rate has come back to 58 per cent.

Brokers are now wondering again whether the premium has stabilized at a new level. It is certainly true that the circumstances in which Wednesday's record was set

were exceptional, relating very largely to some extremely heavy buying of Union Corporation shares early in the week. In addition there seems to have been an unusually large amount of investment currency purchasing by institutions anxious to top up their cover on back to back loans to the required 115 per cent. Some institutions had apparently delayed their purchase for this purpose in the mistaken belief that changes would be announced in the Budget which would make them unnecessary.

There is, however, no reason to expect a significant fall in the premium now that these special factors are, for the moment, out of the way. Such a fall is not likely while the present economic and political situation in the United Kingdom militates against investment, while sterling remains potentially weak against the dollar and all while world-wide inflation continues to highlight the attractions of gold and, indirectly, of gold mining shares. Although the talk of phasing it out—least in relation to the EEC—continues, for the foreseeable future supply and demand which dictate the size of the premium, suggest that it will remain firm.

**Joseph Lucas**  
**Liquidity still strong**

The continuing fight to hold unit costs at a manageable level, according to the chairman of Joseph Lucas, has stretched the whole organization to the full. That was last year, when profits dropped sharply in consequence of the three day week stoppages in the motor industry and restructurings in the recovery of costs in higher prices. The question for investors now is just how much stretch there is left, four months into what is admitted to be another difficult year.

It is true that the group recognizes in the oil crisis "an unprecedented opportunity for new business", thanks to its status as a principal supplier of equipment for diesel engines. But the benefit will come over a period of years; and meantime there is lower demand for cars in the United Kingdom and many export markets. So the prospects for a full recovery here are not good.

The prospects of a recovery on the aircraft equipment side are better. But here the group remains vulnerable to cuts in defence spending.

And though the industrial products division is already into a recovery phase, with trading profits up from £704,000 to £923,000 last year, this is too small to be of major significance to the group.

Within this classification there is every conceivable type of business, ranging from tiny family businesses to those high-flying concerns about to become public. Many of these companies are satellites to the big-name groups providing components or services on a permanent subcontractual basis. Others maintain their independence and operate on extraordinarily tight margins.

Not surprisingly, their mortality rates are exceptionally high. Their vulnerability was shown after the first revaluation of the yen in 1971 when many went to the wall because the new exchange rates eliminated their margins altogether.

Two interesting sets of statistics quoted in the latest issue of the *Fuji Bank Bulletin* illustrate the size and diversity of the sector. According to the National Tax Agency the total number of corporate enterprises in Japan at March 31, 1973, amounted to 1,028,000. Companies with a capital of £17.8m are only slightly in excess of last year's reduced cash flow.

At 60p the shares are selling at 4.5 times diluted earnings and yield 12.2 per cent. The full recovery potential is not likely to be realized in the current year, but the yield is just about high enough to make it worth waiting for.

**Accounts: 1973-74 (1972-73)**

Capitalization: £39.5m

Net assets: £185.8m (£182.7m)

Borrowings: £41.9m (£19.1m)

Pre-tax profit: £17.6m (£26.7m)

Earnings per share: 13.2p (24p)

re has been a question mark cast over the shares in conglomerate Norcros ever since the up's plans to double in size

Business Diary in Europe

•

Hugh Stephenson

## Hudson Report insights worthy of debate

Ever mindful of the dangers of throwing the baby out with the bath water, I reread over the weekend the Hudson Report on the United Kingdom. The bath water should certainly be thrown out. For the report is, basically, a somewhat unconvincing statement about the British economy; namely that it has for years been characterized by low growth, low investment, low productivity and low wages. The Hudson Institute's futurology consists of saying that, if these trends continue, the United Kingdom will be relatively much worse off by 1980 and that this process of gradual, complacent decline will create every kind of social, economic and political tension. The report neither says anything strikingly new about how we got into the mess, nor does it suggest any very convincing way in which we could get out.

Just as, however, a management consultant, even if he does not fully understand the situation, can, as an outsider, see and say things that those in high

may not wish to say (or may not even see), so the Hudson Report has a few sharp and uncomfortable insights. We are a self-satisfied, increasingly parochial, still class-bound society. The paradox is that, to a greater or lesser extent, so is France, the country which was mentioned in a previous Hudson Report in 1973.

Two themes in the report stand out as worthy of further debate: the future of North Sea oil and the role of the City. The passages on oil, in particular, are of genuine worth. Those on the City are puerile, but touch on important issues.

It is now widely assumed that the North Sea will remove the oil deficit from the balance of trade; give us limitless supplies of secure, cheap energy; and provide the stimulus for a new Industrial Revolution, primarily in Scotland, but spreading elsewhere.

The Hudson Report rightly raises

issues, especially if world prices ease even a little in real terms.

The "offshore" market has been exploited to a huge extent by foreigners, because neither the private sector nor official action anticipated the demand.

Exploration and production platforms are 80 per cent foreign. The pipeline is German and Japanese. Most of the trained drillers are Norwegian. The financing arrangements, coupled with official borrowing to cover the current payments deficit, will mean that most of the medium-term financial advantages will go in service payments to foreigners. Further, though they do not make the point, there is no guarantee (indeed rather the reverse) that the interests of finance and sterl

ing. In any case, though security of supply is important and worth paying for, North Sea oil will itself do little to provide us with oil at lower than world market prices.

On the City, the report strikes a populist chord. "We are struck by the disastrous effect of the City of London on the British economy", it says. Allowing for slight flaws in the argument (for example the authors call for exchange controls and seem to think that there have been none in the recent months) the twin thesis is that British economic policy has been run more in the interests of finance and sterl

ing. Oil companies will wish for high production, and exports to existing refineries and petro-chemical installations. A British Government will be

more interested in conservation and

expansion of the British petro-chemical

## Darwinian selection in Japanese businesses

For the foreigner who has never visited Japan, his image of Japanese business is largely formed by the activities and products of the huge zaibatsu and conglomerates or their modern keiretsu counterparts. Names such as Mitsubishi, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo comprise the first group, while Marusushita, Hitachi and Nissan comprise the second.

But wherever visits Japan is struck not so much by the dominance of these giants as by the amazing number of smaller businesses which crowd the corporate and urban landscape.

Japanese economists used to stress—and Marxist economists in Japan still do stress—this dual structure in the Japanese economy as a whole there is

plenty of scope for innovation and competition among the smaller companies.

One explanation for this vigorous performance lies in the division between the large, capital-intensive, high-technology exporting giants and the relatively labour-intensive, low-productivity medium and small enterprises which actually account for the vast majority of business organizations in Japan.

The majority of these small businesses are located in the towns and cities up and down the length of the country, so that the division between rural and urban is no longer material.

But less prominence is given to the fact that, according to the latest White Paper on Small Enterprises, 31 per cent of companies with less than 100m yen accounted for 89 per cent; those with a capital of less than 100m yen for 99 per cent of the total. In addition, as of July 1, 1972, there were 3,687,000 individual-owned businesses.

Compared with the situation in 1965 there has been no significant deterioration in the position of these companies in absolute terms. The main areas of operation continue to be retailing real estate and services, and despite the dominance of the zaibatsu or keiretsu conglomerates in the economy as a whole there is

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# Management

## GEC leapfrogs into field of 'Action learning'

After the 1967-68 mergers that created GEC as we know it today, the company decided that it would no longer train general managers by sending them to business schools. Instead for six years GEC managers learned by simply surviving successfully in the real and rugged environment around them. The new corporate culture was austere, and did not encourage private educational turfblows for its members.

From this home-grown "Outward Bound" approach GEC has now leapfrogged into Britain's first programme in "Action Learning" for senior managers. This is a concept developed by the iconoclastic Professor Reginald William Revans, former Professor of Industrial Administration, Manchester University, a controversial character whose ideas have been adopted in business and government in places as disparate as Brussels, Beirut, and Dallas. They are still relatively untried in his home country, probably because they tend to be uncomfortable for the corporate leaders who undertake them.

In essence, Revans believes that people will understand and work with the psychology and politics of organizational behaviour better if they have to go out and learn from problems in real life, rather than by listening to lectures. To learn how to gather valid information, diagnose problems, and implement their solutions the people undergoing training congregate in small groups and help each other as they gather information, diagnose problems and try to implement solutions.

GEC's interest in the concept began about a year ago when Sir Arnold Weinstock happened to hear Revans explaining Action Learning on television. The peripatetic Revans nipped off to Nigeria, Brussels and the States, but eventually GEC and a 10-man organization set up in the United Kingdom by Revans were able to work out a programme for Action learning suited to GEC's own needs. ALP International is acting as catalyst this year, but true to the concept, will leave GEC and carry on alone next year.

A previous Revans programme in Brussels had involved people from 19 companies. Each participating firm contributed a senior man with potential for even higher promotion, and a major problem that needed solving. Then after some initial training in

behavioural sciences and some group meetings to get to know each other, the participants moved into different companies for about nine months, so the man from the steel company was handling a problem in the real and rugged environment around them. The new corporate culture was austere, and did not encourage private educational turfblows for its members.

Although not all the problems were "solved", both the participants and their employers reported that the management development aspects of the programme were extraordinarily successful. A similar project in the Middle East involved people from 13 different companies and government agencies in several countries.

The GEC programme differs considerably, as it should, since no two situations are the same. Revans and Mike Bett, GEC's personnel director, went around to about 20 managing directors of GEC companies, selling the Action Learning idea. Some contributed problems that needed solving; others nominated senior managers for the programme, usually men in their 30s or 40s; some gave both men and problems; a few rejected the idea entirely.

Managing directors who made contributions were undertaking significant risks. Having a serious company problem investigated by someone from another part of the organization can never be comfortable, and for those who contributed key managers the cost was £2,500 for the course plus about seven months' salary while the man was away from his normal job. On the other hand, each problem was sufficiently important that its solution would be a major advance, and in that context the financial cost would be quite low for GEC as a whole, even though the company paying and the company with its problem solved would be different businesses within GEC in most cases.

All the managing directors were told they could invite people from other companies or government agencies; the outside organizations which chose to involve themselves in the new ideas were the Civil Service Department and the Post Office. Thus the spectrum of problems in the GEC programme was somewhat narrower than it was in Brussels or the Middle East, most of them having to do with high technology within a single corporate culture. One aspect of that culture is an extra emphasis on success right now—so each member seems highly motivated to solve the project problem, which may cause difficulties for

those who run up against the brick walls of resistance to change that exist in any organization.

One characteristic of the previous programmes that is unlikely to be different at GEC is the tendency of the original problem to grow as it is investigated by an impartial fact-finder. In previous Revans programmes, for example, a production control problem in a steel mill might turn out to require better communications between the sales and material control departments, or a new information system—or a complete reorganization. The management styles of "clients" are often part of the problem, and expanded problem definitions often meet rejection.

This isn't so difficult when you have a nice bank to go to home to after your months in the ungrateful steel company; it is much harder when you are returning to another GEC company (as in a few GEC cases) and is not being solved; others nominated senior managers for the programme, usually men in their 30s or 40s; some gave both men and problems; a few rejected the idea entirely.

The 21 GEC participants did some reading in September and then met for almost three weeks in October at Dunchurch Industrial Staff College, which has been working in Revans-like directions since 1968 and has been deeply involved in the GEC programme since it began. The participants formed themselves into four small groups called "project sets", each with its own adviser from ALP International. As soon as they finished this formal training period they spread out to various client companies to begin their projects, usually with fact-finding interviews, meeting in project sets once a week.

In some respects a project set meeting resembles a classic case-method discussion, except that the participants know the case is real. If they want more information the man presenting his problem can give it, or go back and find it—a major departure from the edge-of-the-paper confines of written cases (as well as their tendency to over-generalize). The clear purpose of the discussion is to help the member who is discussing his project.

One important aspect of the programme is the close and candid relationship that builds up in a project set.

Nancy Foy

## BSC grapples with communications

Down at the £200m British Steel Corporation complex at Llanwern in South Wales—where strikes have had a disastrous effect on the corporation's output performance this year—a new internal telephone information service has been attracting more than 700 callers a day. Introduction of the 24-hour service, which provides callers with a two minute bulletin on plant news, represents the first of a series of measures which the BSC is implementing to grapple with the problems of communications within a large steelworks complex.

The serious deficiencies in the state steel undertaking's communications with its workforce have been exposed and the corporation's strike record is a dismal one. In the first 16 weeks after the miners' strike there had been 109 disputes in BSC plants (most of them unofficial) while in the 12 months up to the strike there had been no less than 171. The whole issue of communication within plants is now being accorded priority treatment in the senior echelons of the corporation with chief executive Bob Scholey playing a leading role.

Against the background of the appalling strike record, it is not surprising that the corporation should be seeking to achieve some improvement in its communications—particularly in view of the redundancies which will stem from implementation of the plant closure programme as part of its 10-year development strategy.

A major modern steelworks employing perhaps 9,000 people is a soulless place", Scholey says. "Men work in small, isolated teams separated by space and—because of shift working—by time. The corporation's future is geared to dependence on a handful of these maxi plants, and this nettle must be grasped. The need for effective and inspired local communication has never been more urgent."

But the communications improvement programme also takes account of the national scene. Although the programme is still only in its formative stages, the BSC is apparently seeking to bring about some pretty fundamental changes in its relationships with the unions at national level through the establishment of some new consultative body.

Over the past few weeks, Scholey has been stamping the country addressing meetings of BSC, ramming home the need to improve the level of communications with the workforce—disputes in the corporation's

plants this year are likely to cost around one million tonnes in lost production and the high incidence of disputes is seriously undermining the confidence of both home and export customers.

A recent survey conducted for the BSC revealed that 47 per cent of 1,500 people interviewed listed the "grape vine" as one of their main sources of information of what was going on inside the corporation; 31 per cent listed the press and television; 22 per cent their union and 45 per cent the corporation's weekly newspaper.

The same survey showed up other disturbing weaknesses. Of the employees interviewed some 68 per cent felt that management was more interested in giving its own point of view than listening to them and four out of five considered that there was not enough opportunity to let the corporation know how they felt.

Scholey believes that until now, the BSC generally has been most unimaginative in its use of communications tools. He wants to see more use made of local radio stations, he would like to see the development of closed circuit television systems in some plants—basically a more professional approach to the use, not only of sophisticated electronic paraphernalia but also more conventional methods like the letter on the bulletin board.

On management-union relationship, Scholey also believes that there is ample scope for improvement. The BSC at present negotiates with 18 unions with the Steel Industry Management Association and with the TUC steel industry committee and around 99.5 per cent of the BSC's 300,000-strong labour force are covered by collective bargaining agreements.

In an article in the quarterly journal, *British Steel*, Scholey says: "Joint consultation between management and trade unions on a wide range of issues is now established throughout the corporation, but its effectiveness is still very patchy. It is therefore only realistic to see joint consultation as an important communications medium and to work at making it as useful as possible."

There is little doubt that after the experiences of the past 18 months the corporation's weaknesses in communications have been exposed more than ever before and that Scholey and his colleagues are making a determined effort to remedy the situation.

Peter Hill

## FINANCIAL NEWS

### Heavy investment brings Inco's production rate to record level

The International Nickel Company of Canada's production rate is now at the highest level in the company's history declared Mr L. E. Grubb, the chairman and chief officer, in a speech to the Toronto Society of Financial Analysts, last Friday.

This achievement was primarily the result of Inco's heavy investment in the 1967-72 period in modernization and expansion of its production capacity. If Inco is to maintain this high level of production capacity, it will need an investment of about \$1,000m (£43.5m) in Canada which would be necessary each year. And certainly, Inco would continue to develop its existing mines as sections become mined out and would keep its processing facilities at their "present high peak of efficiency".

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Peter Hill

If we allow for a 15 per cent cyclical fluctuation, required capacity to meet demand should be about 15 lb."

At the end of next year stalled nickel production capacity is expected to be 14 lb, leaving 300m lb of capacity that must be added by 1980.

Inco means to help to that need, said Mr Grubb, principally from its Indian and Guatemalan projects, which should be on stream by the end of 1975 and which Inco expects to have producing at an rate of about 125m lb by end of 1978.

In conclusion, Mr Grubb emphasized that Inco plan to diversify, but no intention of becoming a conglomerate.

### Interim setback at Hartwells

In reporting interim profits down from £471,000 to £32,000, the Oxford-based distributor, says that bad vehicles have been obtained, firm orders held off and the market has been considerably better. The pre-tax is £130,000 to £242,000 and sales improved to £16.5m.

Largely because of the unmet supply of new and commercial vehicles substantially down, with enlarged turnover reflecting higher prices in fuel.

### Town Centre Secs

Mr L. A. Ziff, chairman of Town Centre Securities, in his statement that he sees a reasonable future for his company even with the present interest rates.

But this is provided rent allowed to find their own level in commercial property and there are no inhibiting on the investment of capital. For the time being, there is no profit and consolidate its place itself in a position to advantage of a strong base.

### Mount Row stake

Mrs R. J. Davidson, a director of Estates & General Investments recently sold 2.9 million ordinary shares in the company (29.8 per cent of the equity). The board now point out that within the sale, Mount Row Securities and its subsidiary Mount Row Finance disposed of 2,202,402 ordinary shares. The interest of Mount Row Securities and its subsidiary in Estates & General is now 980,598 ordinary shares. The purchaser of the Estates & General shares was Prowling Holdings.

### Imry to spend £11m

The total cost of developments in hand at the Imry Property Holdings group will involve the expenditure of £11m, of which £8.8m has been obtained as long-term finance. Short-term arrangements cover the rest. The board is constantly revising the group's capital requirements and forward planning has been initiated to make sure that these are fully covered.

without a moderation of the rate of inflation. And, as an instrument to that end, comments S. C. the social contract looks dubious.

A strong recommendation is the switch from Bats to Imps which has already shown its trace in the stock market. S. C. comments that the Imps dividend is probably safe now, as a consequence of the Budget relief for stock appreciation.

Fielding Newson-Smith warns against expecting an improvement in the brewery sector following the Budget. The modification of the "productivity deduction" and stock appreciation situation could be helpful, says Fielding, but it is hard to see much upturn for brewers against the background of a market upset by the outflow for sterling and for short-term interest rates. The firm stands by its previous view that the brewery sector could look relatively attractive against the background of a general deterioration in industry in the coming year.

Terry Byland

### The Times Share Indices

The Times Share Indices date from 1964. Current rate as at 20th October.

Index of Industrial shares

Large shares 156.47 155.32 155.46

Small shares 145.42 145.25 145.25

Capital Goods 151.55 151.25 151.25

Consumer Goods 151.25 151.25 151.25

Large financial shares 151.25 151.25 151.25

Large financial shares 151.25 151.25 151.25

Commodity shares 150.54 151.31 151.31

Gold Mining shares 53.00 53.00 53.00

Industrial debenture stocks 68.25 68.46 68.46

Preference stocks 41.97 41.97 41.97

War loans 200.00 200.00 200.00

Adjusted for 1964 half-year. Ex-dividend.

High 156.47 155.32 155.46

Low 145.42 145.25 145.25

Latest price 151.25 151.25 151.25

Prev. week 151.25 151.25 151.25

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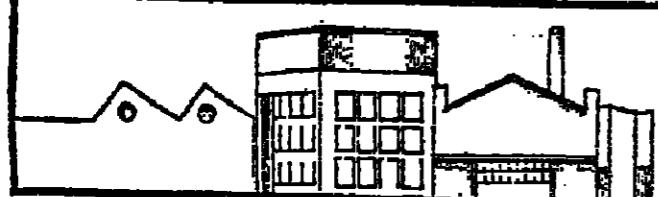
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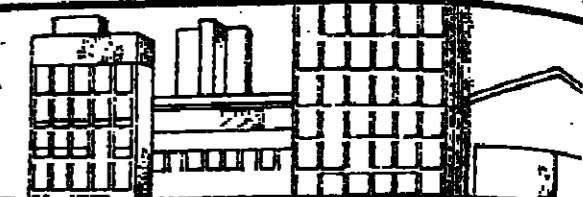








# Commercial and Industrial Property



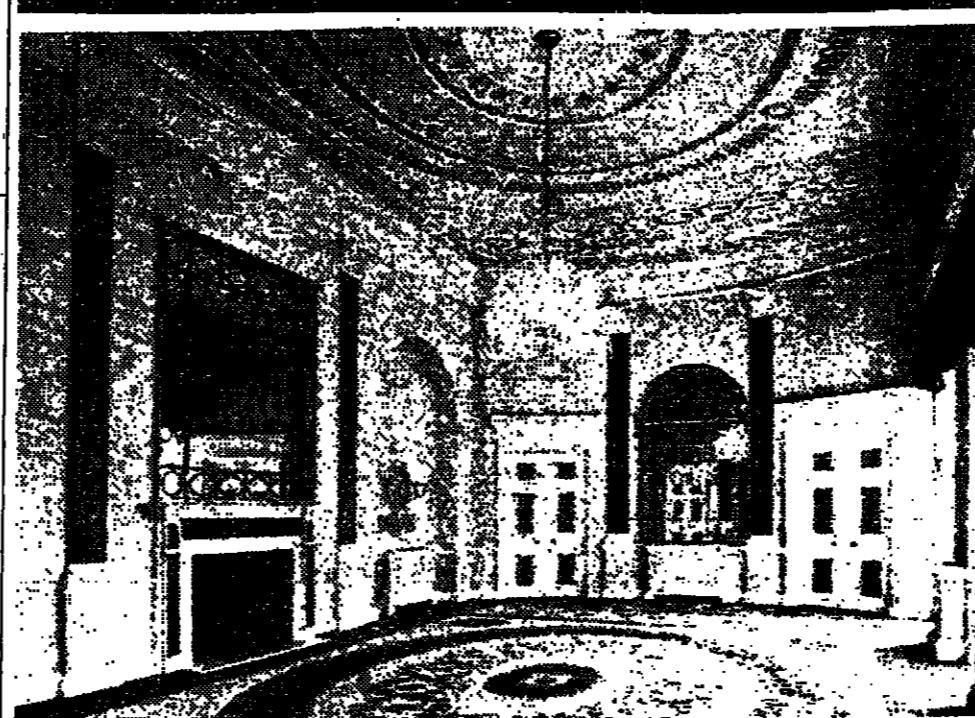
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The Great Room at 17 Hill Street, London : restored from original Adam drawings.

### Only big schemes catch eye

With property men taking an ever gloomier view of the immediate future there is little to enliven the market these days. Yet when large schemes are completed, great interest is often shown in the new accommodation, particularly outside London, where rates which are mouth-watering compared with London levels.

In Leicester, for instance, the New Walk Centre, an office complex by Land and House Property Corporation, is due to be completed next month. The letting agent expects that the prospects of a major letting in the near future appear good. When completed, the development will provide about 214,000 sq ft of fully air-conditioned space.

Designed by Newman Lovell and Partners, it takes the form of two curved blocks, one of 15 floors, the other of nine, around a pedestrian concourse. The site covers about two acres bounded by Welford Road, King Street, Welford Place and Longbut Lane. Rents are in the region of £2 a sq. ft. Letting is through Jones Lang Wootton and Barrington Lawrence, of London, and Walker Walton Hanson, of Nottingham.

Work is also nearing completion on the Office Property Division's new office development at St Christopher House, in Stockport. The site is at the corner of Wellington Road and Longbut Lane and the building will have 77,000 sq ft of space on ground and nine upper floors, with parking for 157 cars. Rents here are about £1.50 a sq. ft and letting is through Hillier Parker, of London, Cowden, and Vanulich and Co.

Topped out last week for completion late next summer was an office block in Bournemouth, developed by Whitbread Trafalgar Properties. The seven-storey building, which will have a lettable area of 26,400 sq. ft, gives on to Holdenhurst Road and St Paul's Road, close to the railway station, on the site of the old Railway Hotel. Architects for the scheme are W. H. Saunders and Son and letting is through G. Paul and Son, of Southampton. Rents are expected to be about £4 a sq. ft.

In the West Country, Marlborough Property Holdings, a company recently formed by Gough Cooper and Co and C. H. T. Partnership, has now obtained planning permis-

ses for a new office scheme at Bridgwater, Somerset. The scheme, to provide about 6,500 sq. ft, involves renovations and extensions to a two-storey building with a frontage of over 100ft to St Mary Street, near the town centre redevelopment scheme. The site is in the St Mary's conservation area, and design by Moysey, Jemmett and Partners of Bristol. Letting is through Jones Lang Wootton and Barrington Lawrence, of London, and Walker Walton Hanson, of Nottingham.

Restorations of historic buildings as prestige offices reach ever greater heights of luxury. Compass Securities have completed an exceptionally fine job at 17 Hill Street, W1, where the interior of the former drawing room was carried out by Charles Hammond, the interior decorators. The house was built in 1748, but virtually reconstructed inside by Robert Adam about 1777. It was altered in 1906 and damaged by bombs in the last war.

Restoration has been based on original drawings by Adam which survive in the Soane Museum. Extreme care has been taken with the details, including carpets specially hand-woven in Nepal. According to Adam's original design, as the building is now, it provides a total of 10,960 sq. ft of fully air-conditioned offices. The rent is a hefty £22,500 a year, or about £20.50 a sq. ft. Agents are Debenham, Tewson and Chinnocks, of London, and C. H. T. Partnership, of Bristol.

On the Continent a modernization operation is being carried out in Brussels by European Property Holdings, a company recently formed by Gough Cooper and Co and C. H. T. Partnership. The scheme is to be completed in the fourth phase and is all under offer. About two thirds of the 22-acre site has been developed, providing over 160,000 sq. ft.

Rents for the fourth phase are about £1 a sq. ft. Sufficient land remains for a further 100,000 sq. ft of warehousing, or light industrial use subject to industrial development certificates. Letting is through J. P. Sturge, of Bristol, and Donaldsons.

Gerald Ely

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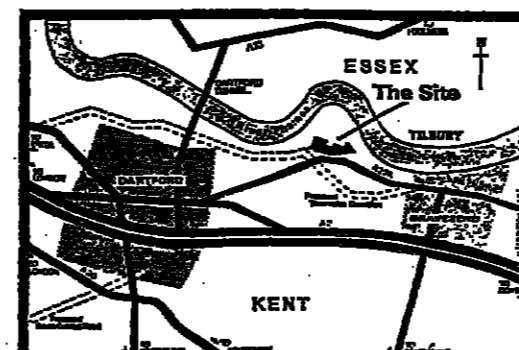
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**Editorial and General Appointments**  
on page 25

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## adcasting

you missed out so far on superconductivity? Horizon, the science programme, ve you the current thinking (BBC2 9.25). And do you remember Marie er and Wallace Beery? Tugboat Annie steams out of the past (BBC1 2.35). A occupies Z Cars (BBC1 7.25). Sid is bothered by a birthday present (ITV in out-of-work with ideas above his station makes the play for Second City (BBC2 10.15). Charlie Cairoli, slap-stick clown, breaks new ground with his cks (BBC1 5.25). The series that takes us behind the bulletins features theision News Exchange (BBC1 11.23).—L.B.

## BBC 2

0 am, You and Me, Anno Domini, 12.55.

0.45, Pebble Mill, 2.45.

1.25, Film: Tag (1933), with Marie Wallace Beery, 4.00.

4.45, The Womad, 4.45.

5.45, John Craven's d. 5.45, Right Charlie's barb.

6.00, Nationwide, \*ne Mother do 'Ave

7.00, The Family Way

8.15, with Haydn Is. John M.H. H. Marjorie Jones.

9.00, The News.

1.00, The Weather.

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